THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANCKLIN, D. D.
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AND OTHERS.

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THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

Mr. De VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XV.

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TO HER

SERENE HIGHNESS

THE

DUCHESS OF S— G—.

MADAM,

IT was in obedience to the orders of your Serene Highneſs, that I undertook the abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Empire, which would have had much more merit, had my ſtay at your court been of long duration; as I ſhould have been better qualified to deſcribe virtue, eſpecially that human and ſocial virtue which derives additional luſtre from wit and beauty; though this indeed has but ſmall influence over hiſtory. Ambition diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of intereſt of ſtates, which, however, it ſerves only to involve in misfortunes, and thoſe ferocious paſſions, by which politics have been almoſt always conducted, leave very little room for the mild virtues that ſeek to dwell with tranquility and peace. The world abounds with troubles and with crimes, and hiſtory is no other than a picture of the outrages and diſtreſs of mankind. It is of conſequence to all the nations of Europe to make themſelves acquaint-

ed with the revolutions of the Empire. The hiſtories of France, England, Spain, and Poland, are confined within their own boundaries: but the Empire is a more extenſive theatre: her prerogatives, her pretenſions, and rights over Rome and Italy, the number of kings and ſovereigns ſhe hath made, the dignities ſhe hath conferred in other ſtates, and her almoſt continual aſſemblies of ſo many princes, form an auguſt ſcene, even in the moſt unpoliſhed ages. But the detail of thoſe particulars is immenſe; and men of buſineſs have too little time to peruſe that prodigious aſſemblage of incidents which throng upon one another, and thoſe collections of laws which have been rendered contradictory by intended explanation.

The juſtneſs of your judgment prompted you to deſire the peruſal of annals, which ſhould be equally entertaining and conciſe, ſo as to give a general idea of the Empire, in a language which is underſtood by all nations, and embelliſhed by the graces of your pronunciation; and the orders of your Serene Highneſs might have, doubtleſs, been obeyed with more ſucceſs, but not with more zeal and veneration.

A LETTER

A LETTER from Mr. de V—— to Mr. de —— Profeſſor of Hiſtory.

SIR,

YOU muſt have perceived that the pretended Univerſal Hiſtory printed at the Hague, and ſaid to be carried down to Charles V. though it contains leſs than the title promiſes, by more than a whole century, was not originally intended to ſee the light. It is no other than a crude collection made in the courſe of old ſtudies, in which I was engaged, about fifteen years ago, with a perſon of a moſt reſpectable character, far tranſcending her ſex and the age in which ſhe lived, whoſe underſtanding comprehended all ſorts of erudition, and whoſe underſtanding was reinforced by taſte, without which that erudition would have been inſipid, and ſcarce intitled to the name of merit.

I prepared that ground-work ſolely for her uſe and my own, as may be plainly ſeen by conſidering the beginning: it is an account to which I freely call myſelf, of what I had been reading; the beſt method of learning and acquiring diſtinct ideas: for a bare reading alone leaves little more than a confuſed picture in the memory.

My principal aim was to trace the revolutions of the human underſtanding in thoſe of governments.

I endeavoured to diſcover in what manner ſo many bad men, conducted by worſe princes,

have notwithſtanding, at the *long* run, eſtabliſhed ſocieties, in which the arts and ſciences, and even the virtues, have been cultivated.

I attempted to find the paths of commerce, that privately repairs the ruins which ſavage conquerors leave behind them; and I ſtudied to know, from the price of proviſions, the riches or poverty of a people: above all things, I examined in what manner the arts revived and ſupported themſelves in the midſt of ſuch deſolation.

The character of nations is ſtrongly marked by poetry and eloquence. I tranſlated paſſages from ſome of the ancient oriental poets; and ſtill remember one from the Perſian Sadi, upon the power of the Supreme Being, in which we ſee the ſame genius that inſpired the Arabian, Hebrew, and all oriental writers; that is, more imagination than propriety; more of the *fuſtian* than the ſublime: their diction is figurative, but their figures are often very ill arranged; their ſallies of imagination are hitherto vague and ſuperficial; and they are utterly ignorant of the art of tranſition. This is the paſſage from Sadi in blank verſe:

" He knows diſtinctly that which never was;
His ear is fill'd with what was never heard;
A monarch he, that needs no kneeling ſlave;
A judge, that executes no written law;
With his omniſcience, like a graver's tool,
He trac'd our features in each mother's womb:
From morn to eve he leads the ſun along,
With rubies ſows the mountain's mighty maſs:
He takes two drops of water; one ſtarts up
A perfect man, the other ſhines a pearl.

He

He ſpoke the word and Being ſprung from nought:
His word the univerſe will quickly melt
Into th' immenſity of ſpace and void:
His word will raiſe the univerſe again,
From depth of nothing to the plains of Being."

Sadi was a native of Bactriana, and cotemporary with Dante, who was born in Florence in the year 1265, and whoſe verſes did honour to Italy, even when there was not one good proſe author among all our modern nations. This genius happened to riſe at a time when the quarrels between the empire and the church had left rankling wounds in different ſtates, as well as in the minds of men. He was a Ghibeline, conſequently perſecuted by the Guelphs; therefore we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find him venting his chagrin in his poem to this effect:

" Two ſuns of old, in one united blaze,
Diffus'd their genial warmth and chearing rays,
That baniſh'd darkneſs, and diſplay'd the road
Which leads bewilder'd man to truth and God,
The imperial eagle's rights were plainly ſhewn,
And the lamb's ſep'rate privileges known:
But now no more that light congenial ſhines;
One, dim'd with vapours, from his orb declines;
With duſky flame and heat unhollowed teems,
Ambitious to eclipſe the other's beams;
War, blood, contention, and confuſion reign;
The lamb now roars, a lion on the plain,
Proud in his purple robes uſurp'd appears,
And with the ſhepherd's crook the ſov'reign's
ſceptre wears."

I tranſlated above twenty pretty long paſſages from Dante, Perarch, and Arioſto; and with

a view to compare the genius of a nation with that of her imitators, I culled ſome parallel verſes from Spenſer, of which I endeavoured to preſerve the ſenſe and ſpirit with the utmoſt exactneſs. Thus I purſued the arts in their career.

Without engaging in the vaſt labyrinth of philoſophical abſurdities, which have been ſo long honoured with the name of ſcience, I only took notice of the moſt palpable errors which had been miſtaken for the moſt inconteſtible truths; and confining myſelf intirely to the uſeful arts, I ſtill kept in view the hiſtory of all the diſcoveries which have been made from Geber the Arabian, who invented Algebra, to the very laſt miracles of our own time.

This part of the hiſtory was doubtleſs the favourite of my attention, and the revolutions of ſtates were no more than acceſſory to thoſe of the arts and ſciences. This whole work, which had coſt me ſo much trouble, having been ſtolen from me ſome years ago, I was the more chagrined, as I found myſelf abſolutely incapable of beginning again ſuch a tedious and toilſome taſk.

That part which was purely hiſtorical, remained in my hands an undigeſted maſs: it is brought down to the reign of Philip II. and ought to be continued to the age of Lewis XIV.

This ſeries of hiſtory, diſincumbered of all the details which commonly obſcure the plan, as well as of all thoſe minute circumſtances of war, ſo intereſting at the time, but ſo tedious afterwards, together with the ſmaller occurrences which never fail to injure the great events, ought to compoſe a vaſt picture, which,

by

by ſtriking the imagination, might aſſiſt the memory.

Several perſons expreſſed a deſire of having the manuſcript, imperfect as it was; and indeed there are above thirty copies of it, which I gave the more willingly, becauſe, finding myſelf unable to work longer on the ſubject, I conſidered them as ſo many materials put into the hands of thoſe who might finiſh the performance.

When Mr. de la Bruiere had the privilege of the French Mercury about the year 1747, he begged of me ſome ſheets which appeared in his journal, and were afterwards collected in the year 1751; for they make collections of every thing. What relates to the Cruſades, which was but a part of the work, they inſerted in this collection as a detached piece, and the whole was printed very incorrectly under the prepoſterous title of A Plan of the Hiſtory of the human Underſtanding. This pretended plan of the hiſtory of the human underſtanding contains no more than ſome hiſtorical chapters relating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

A bookſeller at the Hague having found a more complete manuſcript, has printed it under the title of An Abridgement of the Univerſal Hiſtory, from the Time of Charles the Great, to the reign of Charles V. although it goes not ſo far as Lewis XI. king of France: probably he had no more copy, or was reſolved to ſuſpend the publication of his third volume, until the two firſt ſhould be ſold off.

He ſays, he bought the manuſcript of a man who lives at Bruſſels; and indeed I was informed, that a domeſtic, belonging to his highneſs prince Charles of Lorrain, had been long in

poſſeſſion of a copy which fell into his hands by a very remarkable accident; for it was taken in a box among the equipage of a certain prince, which was pillaged by the huſſars in a battle fought in Bohemia. This work being therefore got by the right of war, is a lawful prize: but one would imagine the ſame huſſars had directed the printing; for it is ſtrangely diſfigured, and the moſt intereſting chapters are totally wanting; almoſt all the dates are falſe, and the proper names for the moſt part diſguiſed. There are many expreſſions which convey no idea, and a number that convey ſuch as are either ridiculous or indecent. The tranſitions, the connections are miſplaced. I am often made to ſay that which is quite contrary to what I have ſaid; and I cannot conceive how any body ſhould read that work as it hath been preſented to the public. I am very glad that the bookſeller has found his account in the ſale of it; but, if he had conſulted me on this ſubject I would have enabled him to oblige the world with a work that would not have been ſo defective; and ſeeing it was impoſſible to ſtop the impreſſion, I would have taken all imaginable pains to arrange that uninformed maſs, which, in its preſent condition, does not deſerve the notice of any ſenſible man *.

As I did not believe that any bookſeller would have run the riſque of publiſhing ſuch an imperfect work, I frankly own I have made uſe of ſome of the materials to build a more regu-

* Since the publication of theſe annals, Mr. de Voltaire has given a complete edition of his hiſtorical tracts, the ſame which we have tranſlated.

lar

lar and ſolid edifice. One of the moſt reſpectable princeſſes of Germany, to whom I could refuſe nothing, having done me the honour to deſire I would write the Annals of the Empire, I have made no ſcruple to inſert a ſmall number of pages from that pretended Univerſal Hiſtory, in the work which ſhe commanded me to compoſe.

While I was buſied in giving her Serene Highneſs this proof of my obedience, and the Annals of the Empire were almoſt already printed off, I underſtood that a certain German, who was laſt year at Paris, had employed his talents on the ſame ſubject, and that his work was ready to appear. Had I known the circumſtance ſooner, I ſhould certainly have put a ſtop to the impreſſion of mine: for I know he is more equal than me to ſuch an enterprize, and I am very far from pretending to enter the liſts with ſuch a rival; but the bookſeller to whom I have made a preſent of my manuſcript, has taken too much pains in ſerving me, to be deprived of the fruits of his labour: beſides, the taſte and manner in which I have wrote theſe Annals of the Empire, being altogether different from the method obſerved by that learned gentleman, whom I have had the honour to mention, perhaps the underſtanding reader may not be ſorry to ſee *the ſame truths* diſplayed in different lights.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE ſhort annals contain all the principal events ſince the renewal of the Empire of the Weſt. Here we ſee five or ſix kingdoms vaſſals to that empire, that long quarrel between the emperors and popes, that of Rome with both, and that obſtinate ſtruggle of the feodal right againſt the ſupreme power. Here we ſee how Rome, that was ſo often on the brink of being ſubdued, eſcaped a foreign yoke, and in what manner that government, which ſubſiſts in Germany, was eſtabliſhed. It is at once the Hiſtory of the Empire and the Church, the detail of Germany and Italy. Germany gave birth to that religion which hath withdrawn ſo many ſtates from the juriſdiction of the Roman church. The ſame country is become the bulwark of the Chriſtian ſtates againſt the Ottomans; ſo that what we call the Empire, is, ſince the time of Charlemagne, the greateſt theatre of Europe.

To the firſt volume is perfixed a catalogue of the emperors, with the year of their birth, acceſſion, and death, together with the names of their wives and children. Oppoſite to this, is a liſt of the popes, moſtly characterized by the principal actions of their lives, and marked with the year of their exaltation; ſo that the reader, with one glance of the eye, may conſult this table, without going in ſearch of the fragments of this liſt at the head of the reign of each emperor. To the ſecond volume is likewiſe prefixed a column of all the electors: but a catalogue of the kings of Europe and the Ottoman emperors, which is ſo eaſily found every-where elſe, would have too much augmented the bulk of the the work, which was intended to be equally concile and complete.

EMPERORS.

I

CHarlemagne, born April 10th 742, became Emp. in 800. d. in 814. His wives were Hildegarde daughter of Childebrant count of Suabia. Irmengarde ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Deſiderata daughter of Didier king of the Lombards. Faſtrada of Franconia. Luitgarde of Suabia. His concubines or wives of the ſecond rank were Ilmetrude, Galienne, Matalgarde, Gerſinde, Regina, Adelaide, and many others. His children were Charles king of Germany, died in 771. Pepin king of Italy, died in 810. Father of Bernard king of Italy, ſtock of the houſe of Vermandois, diſpoſſeſſed, deprived of his eye ſight and died in 818.

Lewis the Pious, the *Debonnaire*, or the *weak Emperor*, Rotrude betrothed to Conſtantine V.

POPES.

Zacharias, exalted in 741. It was he who (it is ſaid) pronounced "that he alone was king who had the kingly power."

Stephen II. or III. exalted in 751. the firſt who ordered himſelf to be carried on men's ſhoulders.

Paul I. 757. in his time the church was divided by the great quarrel about images.

Stephen III. or IV. 768. He diſputed the papacy with Conſtantine, who was a ſecular, and with Philip, and there was abundance of blood-ſhed.

Adrian I. 772. his legates had the firſt ſeat at the ſecond council of Nicea.

Leo III. 795. he conferred the appellation of emperor on Charlemagne on Chriſtmas-day 800, but would not add *Filioque* to the creed.

EMPERORS.

V. emperor of the Eaſt. Bertha married to one of Charlemagne's chancellors. Giſelde, Tetrarde, Hiltrude, ſhut up in a convent by Lewis Debonnaire. By his concubines he had Drogon bp. of Metz, Hugo or Hugues the abbot. Pepin the humpbacked, Rathilde, Gertrude. Writers of romance add the fair Emma, of whom they ſay the ſecretary Eginard and Charlemagne himſelf were enamoured.

2.

Lewis the Weak, born 778, emperor 814, died 840, June 20. His wives: Iremengarde, daughter of the count de Habſbanie. Judith, daughter of the count of Suabia. Children: Lotharius the emperor. Pepin king of Aquitain, died 838. Giſelle wife to the count of Burgundy. Lewis king of Germany, died 876. Adelaide wife to a count of Burgundy. Alpaide wife to a count of Paris. Charles

POPES.

He is ſaid to have introduced the cuſtom of kiſſing the pope's feet.

Stephen IV. or V. 816.

Paſchal I. 817. accuſed of having aſſaſſinated Theodorus the Dean, and obliged to purge himſelf by oath, before the commiſſaries of Lewis the emperor.

Eugenius II. 824. ſurnamed the Father of the Poor.

Valentine, 827.

Gregory IV. 828. who deceived Lewis the Weak.

Sergius

EMPERORS.

Charles the Bald, king of France and emperor.

3.

Lotharius I. born 796. Emp. 840. d. 855. Wife: Hermengarde daughter to the count de Thionville. Children: Lewis II. emperor. Lotharius king of Lorrain, died 868. Charles king of Burgundy. Hermengarde married to a duke upon the Moſelle.

4.

Lewis II. born 825. Emperor 855, d. 875. Auguſt 13. Wife: Ingelbertha daughter of Lewis king of Germany. Children: Hermengarde married to Bozen king of Burgundy.

5.

POPES.

Sergius II. 844. who cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated without waiting for the emperor's permiſſion, in order to eſtabliſh the liberty of the Roman church.

Leo IV. 847. he ſaved Rome from the Mahometans by his vigilance and courage,

Benedict III. 855, created pope by the aſſiſtance of the Franks, in ſpite of the Roman people. In his time St. Peter's Penny was eſtabliſhed in England.

Nicholas I. 858. In his time began the great ſchiſm between Conſtantinople and Rome.

Adrian II. 867. the firſt that cauſed the croſs to be carried before him. The patriarch Photius excommunicared him by way of repriſal.

John VIII. 872. He acknowledged the patriarch Photius; was ſaid

Emperors.	Popes.
	ſaid to be aſſaſſinated with a hammer.
5. *Charles the Bald*, born 823, Emp. 875, d. 877, Oct. 6. Wives: Hirmentrude daughter of Odo duke of Orleans, Richilda daughter of a Count de Bouvines. Children: Lewis the Stammerer. Charles killed in 866. Carloman deprived of his eyeſight 873. Judith, firſt wife to Ethelred king of England, and afterwards married to Baldwin I. earl of Flanders.	
6. *Lewis the Stammerer*, born 843. Nov. 1. 878. d. 879. Ap. 10. Wives: Anſgarde, Aldelaide. Children: Lewis, Carloman, and Charles the Simple kings of France. Egiſella married to Rollo or Raoul firſt duke of Normandy.	
7. *Charles the Groſs*, Emperor 880. depoſed 887. d. 888. without children.	*Marinus*, 882. *Adrian* III. 884. *Stephen* VI. 884. He forbad the trials by fire and water.
8.	*Famoſa*,

EMPERORS.	POPES.
8. *Arnolphus* or *Arnoldus*, born 863. Emp. 887. d. 889. By his miſtreſs Elengarde he had Lewis the Infant or Lewis IV. Emper. Zwentilbolde king of Lorrain. Rapolde, from whom are deſcended the counts d'Andeck and Tirol.	*Famoſa*, 891. *Stephen* VII. 896. ſon of a prieſt. He cauſed the body of his predeceſſor Famoſa to be dug up, decapitated and thrown into the Tiber. He was afterwards put in priſon and ſtrangled. *John* IX. 897. In his time the Mahometans landed in Calabria.
9. *Lewis* IV. or *Lewis the Infant*, born 893. Emp. about 900. died 912. without poſterity.	*Benedict* IV. 900. *Leo* V. 904. *Sergius* III. 905. a cruel man; the gallant of Maroſia, daughter of the firſt Theodora, by whom he had pope John XI.
10. *Conrad* I. Emp. 911. or 912. d. 918. Dec. 23. His wife: Cunigonda of Bavaria; by whom he had Arnolphus the Bad, from whom is deſcended the Houſe of Bavaria.	*Anaſtaſius*, 913. *Lando*, 914. *John* X. 915. the gallant of the young Theodora, by whoſe means he aſcended the papal chair, and by whom he had Creſcentius, the firſt conſul of that name. He was ſtrangled in his bed.
11. *Henry the Fowler* duke of	*Leo* VI. 928. *Stephen*

EMPERORS.	POPES.
of Saxony, born 876. Emperor 919. d. 936. His Wives: Hatbourge daughter of a count of Merſbourg. Melchtida daughter of a count of Ringelheim. His children: Tancard killed at Merſbourg 939. the emp. Otho the Great. Geberga married to Giſelberg duke of Lorrain. Aduida married to Hugues count of Paris. Henry duke of Bavaria. Bruno biſhop of Cologn.	*Stephen* VIII. 929. believed to be the ſon of Maroſia, ſhut up in the caſtle which is now called St. Angelo. *John* XI. 931, ſon of pope Sergius and Maroſia, under whom his mother governed in a deſpotic manner.
12.	
Otho I. ſurnamed *the Great*, born Nov. 22. 916. Emperor 936. d. 973, May 7. His Wives: Editha daughter of Edward king of England. Aldelaide daughter of Rodolphus II. king of Burgundy. Children: Lutholf duke of Suabia. Luitgarde married to a duke of Lorrain and Franconia. Otho II. ſurnamed the Red, emperor, Mathilda abbeſs of Quedlimbourg. Adelaide married to a marquis of Montferrat. Richilda	*Leo* VII. 936. *Stephen* IX. 939. a German by birth, ſlaſhed in the face by the Romans. *Marinus* III. 943. *Agapetus*, 946. *John* XII. 956. ſon of Maroſia and the patrician Albericus; himſelf a patrician: elected pope at the age of 18: oppoſes the emperor Otho I. aſſaſſinated in going to the houſe of his miſtreſs. *Leo* VIII. 663. elected by a ſmall council at Rome,

EMPERORS.	POPES.
Richilda to a count of Eninguen. William archbiſhop of Mentz.	Rome, in conſequence of Otho's orders. *Benedict* V. 964. expelled immediately after his election, by the emperor Otho I. died in exile at Hamburgh. *John* XIII. 965 expelled from Rome, and afterwards eſtabliſhed. *Benedict* VII. 972. ſtranged by the conſul Creſcentius, ſon of pope John X.
13. *Otho* II. ſurnamed *the Red*, born 955. Emp. 973. died 983. Wife: Theophania daughter-in-law to the emperor Nicephorus. Children: Otho afterwards emperor. Sophia abbeſs of Ganecheim. Mathilda married to a count palatine. Vithilda a natural daughter married to a count of Holland.	*Boniface* VII. 974. was inclined to deliver Rome to the emperors of the Eaſt. *Domus*, 974. *Benedict* VII. 975.
14. *Otho* III. born 973. Emp. 983. d. 1002. he is ſuppoſed to have married Mary of Arragon, died without poſterity.	*John* XIV. 984. in the time of Boniface VII. he died in priſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. *Boniface* VII. re-eſtabliſhed, aſſaſſinated with a poignard.
15.	*John*

Emperors.	Popes.
	John XV. or XVI. 986. expelled from Rome by the conſul Creſcentius, and reeſtabliſhed.
	Gregory V. 996. by the nomination of the emperor Otho III.
	Silveſter II. 999. this is the famous Gerberg Auvergnac, archbiſhop of Rheims, a prodigy of learning in thoſe days.
15. *Henry* II. ſurnamed *the Saint*, *the Chaſte*, and *the Lame*, duke of Bavaria, grandſon of Otho the Great, Emp. 1002. d. 1024. Wife: Cunigonda daughter of Sigefroi count of Luxemburg, no poſterity.	*John* XVII. 1003.
	John XVIII. 1004.
	Sergius IV. 1009. looked upon as an ornament of the church.
	Benedict VIII. 1012. repulſed the Saracens.
16. *Conrade* II. *the Salique*, of the houſe of Franconia. Emp. 1024. died 1039, June 4. Wife: Giſelle of Suabia. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Beatrix abbeſs of Ganderſheim. Judith, ſaid to have been married to Azon d'Eſte in Italy.	*John* XIX. or XX. 1024. expelled and reeſtabliſhed.
	Benedict IX. 1033. who purchaſed the third part of the pontificate and afterwards ſold his ſhare.
17.	*Gregory*

EMPERORS.	POPES.
17.	
Henry III. ſurnamed *the Black*, born Oct. 28. 1017. Emp. 1039. d. 1056. Wives: Cunigonda daughter of Canute king of England. Agnes daughter of William duke of Aquitain. Children by his ſecond wife: Mathilda married to Rodolphus duke of Suabia. The emperor Henry IV. Conrad duke of Bavaria. Sophia married to Solomon king of Hungary, and afterwards to Uladiſlaus king of Poland. Itha wife of Leopold marquis of Auſtria. Adelaide abbeſs of Ganderſheim.	*Gregory* VI. 1045. depoſed. *Clement* II. biſhop of Bamberg, 1046, nominated by the emperor Henry II. *Damaſus* II. 1048. nominated by the emperor. *Leo* IX. 1048. a virtuous pope. *Victor* II. 1055. a great reformer, inſpired and governed by Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII.
18.	
Henry IV. born Nov. 11. 1050. Emp. 1056. d. 1106. Wives: Bertha, daughter of Otho Savoy called the marquis of Italy. Adelaide of Ruſſia, widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Children by Bertha: Conrad, duke of Lorrain. The emperor Henry V. Agnes, wife of	*Stephen* X. 1057. brother to Godfrey duke of Lorrain. *Nicholas* II. exalted by force of arms 1056. expelled his competitor Benedict I. who ſubjected Apuglia and Calabria to the holy ſee. *Alexander* II. elected by the faction of Hildebrand, without the conſent

Emperors.	Popes.
of Frederick of Suabia. Bertha married to a duke of Carinthia. Adelaide married to Boleſlaus III. king of Poland. Sophia to Godfrey duke of Brabant.	ſent of the imperial court 1061. In his time happened the aſtoniſhing adventure of the experiment of the ſtone Igneus, whether true, falſe, or exaggerated. *Gregory* VII. 1078. this is the famous Hildebrand, the firſt pope who rendered the Roman church ſo formidable. He was the victim of his own zeal. *Victor* III. 1086. recommended by Gregory VII. at his death. *Urban* II. native of Chatillon ſur Maine, 1087. publiſhed the cruſades contrived by his predeceſſor. *Paſchal* II. 1099. followed the footſteps of Gregory VII.
19. *Henry* V. born 1081. Emp. 1106. died 1125, May 23. Wife: Mathilda daughter of Henry I. king of England. Children: Chriſtina wife of Ladiſlaus duke of Sileſia.	*Gelaſius* II. 1118. dragged to priſon by the oppoſite faction. *Calixtus* III. 1119. finiſhed the great proceſs of the inveſtitures. *Honorius* II. 1124.
20. *Lotharius* II. duke of Saxony,	*Innocent* II. 1130. almoſt

EMPERORS.

Saxony, Emp. 1125. died 1137. Wife: Richeze daughter of Henry the Groſs, duke of Saxony.

21.

Conrad III. born 1092. Emp. 1138 d. 1152, Feb. 15. Wife: Gertrude daughter of a count of Sultzbach. Children: Henry died under age. Frederick coun. of Rothenbourg.

22.

Frederic I. ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*, duke of Suabia, born 1121. Emp. 1152. d. 1190. Wives: Adelaide daughter of the marquis of Vohenburg, repudiated. Beatrix daughter of Renauld count of Burgundy. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Frederic duke of Suabia. Conrad duke of Spoleto. Philip afterwards emperor. Otho count of Burgundy. Sophia married to the marquis of Montferrat. Beatrix, abbeſs of Quedlimbourg.

23.

POPES.

almoſt all the elections were double in this age, and the popes were not maſters of Rome.

Celeſtinus II. 1143.

Lucius II. 1144. killed by a ſtone, fighting againſt the Romans.

Eugenius III. 1145. maltreated by the Romans, takes refuge in France.

Anaſtaſius IV. 1153.

Adrian IV. 1154. an Engliſhman, ſon of a mendicant, himſelf a mendicant, becomes a great man.

Alexander III. 1159. humbles the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa and Henry II. king of England,

Lucius III. 1181. expelled and purſued by the Romans, who, in receiving the biſhop, would not acknowlege the prince.

Urban III. 1185.

Gregory VIII. 1187. paſſes for a learned, eloquent and honeſt man

Clemen

EMPERORS,	POPES.
	Clement III. 1188. endeavours to reform the clergy.
23. *Henry* VI. born 1165. Emp. 1190. died 1197. Wife: Conſtance daughter of Roger king of Sicily. Children: Frederic, afterwards emperor. Mary wife of Conrad marquis of Mahren.	*Celeſtinus* III. 1191. forbad the emperor Henry VI. to be buried.
24. *Philip* duke of Suabia, youngeſt ſon of Frederic. Barbaroſſa, guardian of Frederic II. born 1181. Emp. 1198. died June 21, 1208. Wife: Irene daughter of Iſaac emperor of Conſtantinople. Children: Beatrix wife of Ferdinand III. king of Caſtile. Cunigonda married to Winceſlaus III. king of Bohemia. Mary wife of Henry duke of Brabant. Beatrix died immediately after her marriage with Otho IV. duke of Brunſwick, afterwards emperor.	*Innocent* III. 1198. laid France under interdiction. In his time was the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes.
25.	*Honorius*

EMPERORS.

25.

Otho IV. duke of Brunſwick, Emp. 1198. d. 1218. Second wife: Mary daughter of Henry the Virtuous duke of Brabant, died without poſterity.

26.

Frederick II. duke of Suabia, king of the two Sicilies, born Dec. 26, 1193. Emp. 1212. died 1250, Dec. 13. Wives: Conſtance daughter of Alphonſus II. king of Arragon. Violenta daughter of John de Brienne king of Jeruſalem. Iſabella daughter of John king of England. Children: Henry king of the Romans died in priſon 1236. Conrad afterwards emperor, father of Conradin in whom the houſe of Suabia was extinct. Henry governor of Sicily. Margaret wife of Albret the Depraved, landgrave of Thuringia and marquis of Miſnia. By his miſtreſſes he had Enzio king of Sardinia. Manfredo

POPES.

Honorius III. 1216. began to thwart Frederic II.

Gregory IX. 1227. expelled by the Romans, excommunicated and thought to depoſe Frederic II.

Celeſtinus IV. 1241.

Innocent IV. 1243. excommunicated Frederic II. and thought to depoſe him at the council of Lion.

Alexander

Emperors.	Popes.
fredo king of Sicily, Frederick prince of Antioch.	
27.	
Conrad IV. Emperor 1250. d. 1254. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Otho, count Palatine. His ſon Conradin duke of Suabia, heir to the kingdom of Sicily, whom Charles of Anjou cauſed to be decapitated at the age of 27, Oct. 19, 1268.	*Alexander* IV. 1245. who protected the mendicant monks againſt the univerſity of Paris.
(*Alphonſus* X. king of Spain, and *Richard* duke of Cornwal, ſon of Lackland, were both elected in 1257, but are not reckoned among the emperors)	*Urban* IV. 1261. was at firſt a cobler at Troye in Champagne; and the firſt who called Charles of Anjou to Naples.
	Clement IV. 1264. It is pretended that he adviſed the murder of Conradin and the duke of Auſtria, by the hand of the hangman.
28.	
Rodolphus, count of Hapſbourg in Swiſſerland, anceſtor of the houſe of Auſtria, born 1218. Emp. 1273. d. 1291. Wives: Anne Gertrude of Bohenberg. Agnes daughter of Otho count of Burgundy. Children: Albert duke of Auſtria, afterwards emperor. Rodolphus ſuppoſed to have	*Gregory* X. 1271. he eſtabliſhed ſeveral laws for holding of the conclaves.
	Innocent V. 1276.
	Adrian V. 1276.
	John XXI. 1276. was ſaid to be a good phyſician.
	Nicholas III. 1277. of the houſe of Urſini. Before his death he is ſaid to have adviſed the Sicilian

EMPERORS.

have been duke of Suabia. Herman drowned in the Rhine at the age of 18. Frederic who died without iſſue. Charles who died under age. Rodolphus who died in his infancy. Mechtilda married to Lewis the Severe, duke of Bavaria. Agnes who married Albert II. duke of Saxony. Hedwige wife of Otho marquis of Brandenbourg. Gutha married to Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, ſon of Ottocarus. Clemence married to Charles Martel king of Hungary, grandſon of Charles I. king of Naples and Sicily. Margaret wife of Theodoric count of Cleves. Catharine married to Otho duke of Lower Bavaria ſon of Henry brother to Lewis the Severe, and Euphemia a nun.

29.

Adolphus of Naſſau, Emperor 1292. d. 1298, July 2. Wife: Imagina daughter of Jorlach count

POPES.

Sicilian veſpers.

Martin IV. 1281. as ſoon as he was pope, he cauſed himſelf to be elected ſenator of Rome that his authority might be the greater.

Honorius IV. 1285. of the houſe of Savilli: eſpouſed the French party in Sicily.

Nicholas IV. 1288. in his time the Chriſtians were entirely expelled from Syria.

Celeſtinus V. 1292. Benedictus Caietanus perſuaded him to abdicate.

Emperors.	Popes.
count of Limbourg. Children: Henry who died young. Robert of Naſſau. Jorlach of Naſſau. Valdrame Adolpha. Adelaide. Imagina. Mathilda Philippa.	*Boniface* VIII. (Benedictus Caietanus) 1294. confined his predeceſſor: excommunicated Philip the Fair: aſſumed the title of Maſter of all kings: cauſed two ſwords to be carried before him: put two crowns on his head, and inſtituted the Jubilee.
30. *Albert* I. of Auſtria, Emp. 1298. d. 1308. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Menard duke of Carinthia and count of Tirol. Children: Frederic the Beau afterwards emperor. Albert the Wiſe duke of Auſtria.	*Clement* V. (Bertrand de Gott) native of Bourdeaux, 1305: perſecuted the Templars: all ſorts of benefices are ſaid to have been ſold at his court.
31. *Henry* VII. of the houſe of Luxembourg. Emp. 1308. d. 1313. Wives: Margaret daughter of a duke of Brabant. Catharine daughter of Albert of Auſtria, only betrothed before his death. Children: John king of Bohemia.	
32. *Lewis* V. of Bavaria, Emp.	*John* XXII. 1316. ſon of

EMPERORS.

Emp. 1314. d. 1347. Wives: Beatrix of Glaugau. Margaret counteſs of Holland. Children: Lewis the Ancient, margrave of Brandenburg. Stephen the Curled, duke of Bavaria. Mechtilda wife of Frederic the Severe, marquis of Miſnia. Elizabeth married to John duke of Lower Bavaria. William count of Holland by his mother, grew mad. Albert count of Holland. Lewis the Roman, marquis of Brandenbourg. Otho marquis of Brandenbourg.

33.

Charles IV. of the houſe of Luxembourg, born 1316. Emp. 1347. d. 1378. Wives: Blanche de Valois. Anne Palatine. Anne of Sileſia. Elizabeth of Pomerania. Children: Winceſlaus afterwards emperor. Sigiſmund afterwards emp. John marq. of Brandenbourg.

34.

POPES.

of a cobler of Cahors, called d'Eus, who is reckoned to have ſold a greater number of benefices than his predeceſſor, and who had great credit in Europe, without having any at Rome. He always reſided near the Rhone: wrote upon the philoſopher's ſtone, but really had it in ready money. It was he who added a third crown to the Tiara.

Benedict XII. (Jacques Fournier) 1334. reſided at Avignon.

Clement VI. (Pierre Roger) 1342. reſided at Avignon, which he bought of queen Jane.

Innocent VI. (Stephen Aubert) 1352. reſided at Avignon.

Urban V. (William Grimaud) 1352. reſided at Avignon: made a journey to Rome, where, however, he durſt not ſettle.

Gregory XI. (Roger de Momon) 1370. transferred the holy ſee

Emperors.	Popes.
	to Rome again, where he was received as lord of the city.
34. *Winceſlaus*, born 1361. Emp. 1368. depoſed 1400. d. 1419. Wives: Jane and Sophia of the houſe of Bavaria; no poſterity.	A great ſchiſm begins in 1378. between Prignano, Urban VI. and Robert of Geneva, Clement VII. This ſchiſm continues from competitor to competitor to 1417.
35. *Robert Count Palatine* of the Rhine, Emp. 1400. d. 1410. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of a burgrave of Nuremberg. Children: Robert, who died before his father. Lewis the Bearded and Blind, Elector. Frederic count of Hamberg. Elizabeth married to a duke of Auſtria. Agnes to a count of Cleves. Margaret to a duke of Lorrain. John Count Palatine Zimmeren.	
36. *Jodocus* marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia, Emp. 1410. died three months after.	
37. *Sigiſmund* brother to Winceſlaus, born 1368. Emp.	*Martin* V. (Colonna) 1417. elected by the council

EMPERORS.

Emp. 1411. d. 1437. Wives: Mary heireſs of Hungary and Bohemia. Barba counteſs of Sille. Children: Elizabeth daughter of Mary heireſs of Hungary and Bohemia, married to the emperor Albert II. of Auſtria.

38.

Albert II. of Auſtria, born 1399. Emp. 1438. d. 1439. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Sigiſmund, heireſs of Bohemia and Hungary. Children: George who died young. Anne married to a duke of Saxony. Elizabeth to a prince of Poland. Ladiſlaus Poſthumus king of Bohemia and Hungary.

39.

Frederick of Auſtria, born 1415. Emp. 1440. d. 1493. Wife: Eleonora daughter of the king of Portugal. Children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Cunigunda married to a duke of Bavaria.

POPES.

council of Conſtance: pacified Rome, and recovered a great many dominions to the holy ſee.

Eugene IV. (Gondelmore) 1431. ſuppoſed ſon of Gregory XII. one of the popes of the great ſchiſm: triumphed over the council of Baſil, which depoſed him in vain.

Nicholas V. (Sarzane) 1447. made the concordat with the empire.

Calixtus III. (Borgia) 1455. the firſt who ſent gallies againſt the Ottomans.

EMPERORS.

POPES.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Picolomini) 1458. during the council of Baſil, he wrote againſt the power of the holy ſee, and retracted when he became pope.

Paul II. (Barbo a Venetian) 1464. augmented the number and honours of cardinals: inſtituted public games, and the Minim friars.

Sixtus IV. (de la Rovere) 1471. encouraged the conſpiracy of the Pazzi againſt the Medicis: repaired the bridge of Antoninus, and laid a tax upon courtezans.

Innocent VIII. (Cibo) 1484. married before he was a prieſt, and had a number of children.

40.

Maximilian I. of Auſtria, born 1459, king of the Romans 1486, Emp. 1493. d. 1519, Jan. 12. Wives: Mary heireſs of Burgundy, and the Low Countries. Blanche Maria Sforza. Children: Philip the Beau of Auſtria king of Spain by his wife.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) 1491. his miſtreſs Vanoſia, his daughter Lucretia, his ſon the duke of Valentinois, are very well known, as well as the means he uſed to aggrandize that ſon, which redounded to the advantage of the holy ſee.

EMPERORS.

Francis died in the cradle. Margaret promised to Charles VIII. king of France, governante of the Low Countries, married to John son of Ferdinand king of Spain, and afterwards to Philibert duke of Savoy. He had no children by Blanche Sforza, but he had six bastards by his concubines.

41.

Charles V. born Feb. 24, 1500, king of Spain 1516, Emperor 1519, abdicated June 2, 1556. d. Sept. 21, 1558. Wife: Isabella daughter of Emanuel king of Portugal. Children: Philip II. king of Spain. Naples and Sicily, duke of Milan, sovereign of the Low Countries. Jane married to John infant of Portu-

POPES.

Pius III. (Picolomini) 1503. in electing this man, they deceived cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister of France, who thought himself secure of the Tiara.

Julius II. (de la Rovere) 1503. augmented the ecclesiastical state, and was a warrior who wanted nothing but an army.

Leo X. (Medicis) 1513. a lover of the arts; magnificent and voluptuous; under him the Christian religion was divided into several sects.

Adrian VI. (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) 1521. preceptor to Charles V. hated by the Romans, because a stranger. At his death was found written on his physician's door, "To the deliverer of his country."

Clement VII. (Medicis) 1523. in his time Rome was sacked and England detached it-

EMPERORS.

Portugal. Mary wife of the emperor Maximilian II. his own couſin. Baſtards known: Don John of Auſtria, famous in war; and Margaret of Auſtria, married to Alexander duke of Florence, and afterwards to Octavius duke of Parma. Theſe two children are ſuppoſed to have been born of a princeſs very nearly related to Charles V.

42.

Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. born March 10, 1503. king of the Romans 1531: Emp. 1556. died July 25,

POPES.

ſelf from the Roman church.

Paul III. (Farneſe) 1534. gave Parma and Placentia to his baſtard; and this was the cauſe of much trouble. He believed in judical aſtrology, more than all the princes of his time.

Julius III. (Ghiocchi) 1550. It was he who made a cardinal of his ape-bearer, whom they called cardinal Simia. He is ſaid to have been a great voluptuary.

Marcellus II. (Cervin) 1555. his exaltation laſted but twelve days.

Paul IV. (Caraffa) 1555. elected after the age of fourſcore: his nephews governed every thing. The inquiſition was violent at Rome, and after his death the people burned the priſons of that tribunal.

Pius IV. (Medequino) 1559. cauſed Caraffa, nephew to his predeceſſor, to be ſtrangled: nepotiſm prevailed

EMPERORS.

25, 1564. Wife: Anne sister of Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia. By her he had fifteen children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Elizabeth married to Sigismund Augustus king of Poland. Anne to the duke of Bavaria Albert V. Mary to William duke of Juliers. Magdalen a nun. Catharine first married to Francis duke of Mantua, and afterwards to Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, after her sister's death. Eleonora married to William duke of Mantua. Margaret a nun. Barba married to Alphonsus II. duke of Ferrara. Helen a nun. Jane, wife of Francis duke of Florence. Ferdinand duke of Tyrol. Charles duke of Stiria. Jane and Ursula died in their infancy.

43.

Maximilian II. of Austria, b. Aug. 1. 1527. Emp. 1564. d. Oct. 12, 1576. Wife: Mary daughter

POPES.

ed as much under him, as under Paul IV.

Pius V. (Gisseri Dominican) 1566. caused Zoannetti Carnesecchi and Palearius to be

EMPERORS.

daughter of Charles V. by whom he had fifteen children: Rodolphus afterwards emperor. Erneſtus archduke. Matthias afterwards emperor. Maximilian archduke. Albert who married the Infanta Clara Eugenia. Winceſlaus who died at the age of ſeventeen. Anne wife of Philip II. king of Spain. Elizabeth wife of Charles IX. king of France. Margaret a nun and ſix children that died in the cradle.

44.

Rodolphus II. born July 18, 1552. Emp. 1576. d. 1612, Jan. 10. unmarried, though he had five natural children.

POPES.

burnt; had great quarrels with Queen Elizabeth.

Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagno) 1572. the firſt year of his pontificate is famous for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, for which two bonfires were made at Rome. He gave to James Buoncompagno, his baſtard, abundance of wealth and dignities, but he did not diſmember the eccleſiaſtical ſtate in his favour.

Sixtus V. ſon of a poor huſbandman called Peretti, 1585. finiſhed the church of St. Peter; embelliſhed Rome, and in the ſpace of five years that he governed, left five millions of crowns in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Urban VII. (Caſtagna) 1590.

Gregory XIV. (Sfondrat) 1590. ſent aſſiſtance to the league in France.

45.

Innocent

EMPERORS.

POPES.

Innocent XI. (Santiquarto) 1591.

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandio) 1592. He gave abſolution and diſcipline to Henry IV. king of France, one the backs of the cardinals Du Perron and d'Oſſat; and ſeized upon the duchy of Ferrara.

Paul V. (Borgheſe) 1605. excommunicated Venice, and afterwards repented of what he had done; built the palace of Borgheſe, and embelliſhed the city of Rome.

45.

Matthias, brother of Rodolphus, born 1557, Feb. 24. Emp. 1612, died 1619, March 20. Wife: Anne daughter of Ferdinand of Tyrol, died without poſterity.

46.

Ferdinand II. ſon of Charles archduke of Stirta and Carinthia and grandſon of the emperor Ferdinand I. born. July 9, 1578. Emp. 1619. d. 1637, Feb. 15. Wives: Marry Anne daughter

Gregory XV. (Ludoviſio) 1621. helped to pacify the troubles of the Valteline.

Urban VIII. (Barberino) a Florentine, 1623. paſſed for a good Latin poet. His ne-

EMPERORS.

daughter of Charles V. by whom he had fifteen children: Rodolphus afterwards emperor. Erneſtus archduke. Matthias afterwards emperor. Maximilian archduke. Albert who married the Infanta Clara Eugenia. Winceſlaus who died at the age of ſeventeen. Anne wife of Philip II. king of Spain. Elizabeth wife of Charles IX. king of France. Margaret a nun and ſix children that died in the cradle.

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EMPERORS.

daughter of William duke of Bavaria. Eleonora daughter of Vincent duke of Mantua. Children by Anne: John Charles died at fourteen. Ferdinand afterwards emperor. Mary Anne wife of Maximilian duke of Bavaria. Cecilia Renee married to Uladiſlaus king of Poland. Leopold William who poſſeſſed ſeveral biſhopricks. Chriſtina who died young.

47.

Ferdinand III. born July 13, 1608. Emp. 1637. d. 1657. Wives: Mary Anne daughter of Philip III. king of Spain. Mary Leopoldina daughter of Leopold archduke of Tyrol. Eleonora daughter of Charles II. duke of Mantua. Children: Ferdinand king of the Romans died at the age of twenty-one. Mary Anne wife of Philip IV. king of Spain. Philip Auguſtin and Maximilian Thomas who died in their in-

POPES.

phew governed, and made war upon the duke of Parma.

Innocent X. (Pamphili) 1644, his pontificate was a long time governed by his ſiſter-in-law Dona Olympia.

Alexander VII. (Chigi) 1655. made new embelliſhments in Rome.

Clement

EMPERORS.

fancy. Leopold afterwards emperor. Mary died in the cradle. Charles Joſeph biſhop of Paſſau. Tereſa Maria died young. Eleonora Maria who being widow of Michael king of Poland, married Charles duke of Lorrain. Mary Anne wife of the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand Joſeph died in his infancy.

48.

Leopold, born 1640, June 9. Emp. 1658. d. May 5, 1705. Wives: Margaret Tereſa daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. Claudia Felicita daughter of Ferdinand Charles duke of Tyrol. Eleonora Magdalen daughter of Philip William Count Palatine duke of Neubourg. Children by Margaret Tereſa. Ferdinand Winceſlaus died in the cradle. Mary Antonietta wife of Maximilian Mary elector of Bavaria. Three other daughters who died in their infancy. Children

POPES.

Clement IX. (Roſpigliosi) 1667. was deſirous of putting the finances of Rome in order.

Clement X. (Altieri) 1670. in his time began the quarrel of the Regale in France.

Innocent XI. (Odeſcalchi) 1676. was always an enemy to Lewis XIV. and eſpouſed the party of the emperor Leopold.

Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni) 1689.

Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) 1691. adviſed Charles II. king of Spain to make his will in

EMPERORS.

Children by Eleonora Magdalen of Neuburg: Joſeph afterwards emperor. Mary Elizabeth governante of the Low Countries. Leopold Joſeph who died in his infancy. Mary Anne wife of John V. king of Portugal. Mary Thereſa died at twelve years of age. Charles afterwards emperor, and three daughters who died young.

POPES.

in favour of the houſe of Bourbon.

Clement XI. (Albano) 1700. was obliged againſt his will to acknowledge Charles VI. as king of Spain.

EMPERORS.

49.

Joſeph, born July 26, 1678. king of the Romans 1690, at twelve years of age. Emp. 1705. d. 1711, April 17. Wife: Amelia daughter of John Frederic duke of Hanover. Children: Mary Joſephina married to Frederic Auguſtus king of Poland, elector of Saxony. Leopold Joſeph who died in the cradle. Mary Amelia married to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

50.

Charles VI. born Oct. 1, 1685. Emp. 1711. d. 1740. Wife: Elizabeth Chriſtina daughter of Lewis Rodolphus duke of Brunſwick. Children: Leopold who died in his infancy. Mary Thereſa who married Francis of Lorrain, Feb. 12, 1736. Mary Anne married to Charles of Lorrain. Mary Amelia died in her infancy. Charles VI. was the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria.

ANNALS

ANNALS
OF THE
EMPIRE
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone, which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, ſeems to have been juſt, if the word *juſt* may be pronounced of events which partook ſo much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once ſaved from the tyranny of the Lombards, and the negligence of the eaſtern emperors.

This is the great epocha of the weſtern nations; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the church; for no biſhop in the Eaſt had ever been a prince, or poſſeſſed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no reſemblance

reſemblance to that of the firſt Cæſars. In theſe annals will be ſeen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power, with which they have been ſo much reproached; how ſo many weſtern biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of Germany, erected themſelves into ſovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people ſtruggled to preſerve their liberty between the emperors and popes, who diſputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the Weſt, ſince the fifth century, was either barbarous or deſolate; ſo many nations, formerly ſubdued by the ancient Romans, had at leaſt lived till the fifth century in a ſtate of happy ſubjection. It is a ſingular example in all ages, that conquerors ſhould have built for the conquered thoſe vaſt baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation ſince thoſe times hath even preſumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodoſius, was ſpoke from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Triers and Alexandria with more eaſe than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbours; even the tributes, though burthenſome, were much leſs intolerable than ſince that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of ſo many particular maſters. Let us only compare the ſtate of Paris, while governed by Julian the Philoſopher, with its ſituation an hundred and fifty years after. Let us conſider Triers the largeſt city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodoſius, when it was called a ſecond Rome, and then obſerve the

the ſtate of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun under Conſtantine contained five and twenty thouſand maſters of families; Arles was ſtill more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devaſtation, poverty, and ignorance. The Francs were of the number of thoſe famiſhed and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They ſubſiſted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they ſettled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an ancient carte ſtill preſerved at Venice. There we ſee the Francs ſettled from the mouth of the Maine as far as Friſeland, and in part of Weſtphalia, the *Franci ſeu Chamavi* It is by means of the ancient Romans, and them only, that we have a diſtinct notion of our own origin. The Francs then were part of thoſe people called Saxons, who inhabited Weſtphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the deſcendants of his own anceſtors.

Thoſe tribes of Francs, of which the Salians were the moſt illuſtrious, eſtabliſhed themſeves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally ſuppoſed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Triers, Cologn, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambrai; defeated indeed by Actius, one of the laſt ſupports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through neceſſity, againſt Attila; then taking the advantage of the anarchy to which thoſe irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundines reduced the empire, they uſed againſt the

emperors.

emperors themſelves the rights and titles of maſters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into ſhreds, and every horde of thoſe fierce ſavages ſeized upon part as its own prey. One inconteſtible proof that thoſe people were a long time in a ſtate of barbarity, is, that they deſtroyed a great number of cities, and founded none.

All theſe dominions were of ſmall importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet poſſeſſed the right of the throne and the altar, of the ſword and of enthuſiaſm; their orders were ſo many oracles; their ſoldiers ſo many fanatics. In the year 651, they beſieged Conſtantinople, deſtined to be one day Muſſulman. The inevitable diviſions among ſo many new chiefs, of ſo may peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conqueſts; the Mahometans, in that particular, reſembled the ancient Romans, who ſubdued Aſia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midſt of their civil wars.

In 711, we ſee them paſſing from Egypt into Spain, which was eaſily ſubdued * ſucceſſively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at laſt by thoſe Arabs called Moors, who there eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Cordova. The ſultan of Egyt, indeed ſhook

* Spain was far from being eaſily ſubdued. The learned author of the Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus juſtly obſerves, that the Romans fought more battles for the poſſeſſion of Spain alone, than the greateſt conquerors on record did for the utmoſt extent of their dominion.

off

off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat; and Abderame, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the ſultan of Egypt: nevertheleſs, every thing yielded to the arms of the Muſſulmans.

This Abderame, grandſon of the caliph Heſham, takes the kingdoms of Caſtile, Navărre, Portugal, and Arragon; makes a ſettlement in Languedoc; conquers Guienne and Poitou; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conqueſts and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increaſed in power, they improved in politeneſs. Thoſe caliphs who were always acknowledged as the ſovereigns of religion by ſuch as received their orders from afar, finding themſelves at their eaſe in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemagne, more illuſtrious than his predeceſſors, who cauſed himſelf to be reſpected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the ſciences, cultivated the agreeable and uſeful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and ſaw politeneſs ſucceed barbarity through his vaſt dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian cyphers, carried them into Europe. The firſt rudiments of aſtronomy known in Germany and France, were learned from the Arabians; the word *Almanac* is ſtill a proof of this aſſertion. In a word, during the ſecond century after Mahomet, the Chriſtians of the Weſt were obliged to go and take inſtructions from the Muſſulmans.

The more Mahomet's empire flouriſhed, the more Conſtantinople and Rome were abaſed.

Rome

Rome had never recovered that fatal ſtroke ſhe received from Conſtantine, in his removing the ſeat of empire: the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotiſm. The inhabitants of that ancient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts ſunk into oblivion, and nothing was now ſeen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæſars, but conteſts between the ſecular judges and the biſhop. Taken, retaken, and ſacked ſo often by the Barbarians, Rome ſtill obeyed the emperors. After Juſtinian, a viceroy governed it under the name of Exarch; but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He reſided at Ravenna, and from thence ſent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuſcany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in poſſeſſion of Piedmont, the Milaneze, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuſcany, and Bologna: theſe dominions compoſed the kingdom of Lombardy. Thoſe Lombards are ſaid to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianiſm, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they ſettled, and confirmed their dominion by ſubmitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whoſe walls were demoliſhed, and who had no other defence but the troops of the exarch, was often menaced with ſubjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then ſo poor, that the annual impoſition levied by the exarch, amounted to no more than a golden ſol from every maſter of a family; and even this was a burdenſome

denſome tax. It was like thoſe barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the ſeventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, ſhews, in the moſt authentic manner, what the ſovereign pontif was in thoſe days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Biſhop of the City of Rome, as ſoon as he was elected by the citizens; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form: "We intreat you, who are charged with the imperial miniſtry, to order the conſecration of our father and paſtor." They likewiſe communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna in theſe words: "St. Peter, we beſeech thy holineſs to obtain of our lord the exarch the ordination now depending." They were alſo obliged to ſend an account of it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they ſtyled Your Eminences.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confeſſions of faith; and in the ſecond he condemned among the heretics pope Honorius I. becauſe, at Conſtantinople, the ſaid Honorius biſhop of Rome was ſuppoſed to have acknowledged but one will in Jeſus Chriſt.

There is a great diſtance from this to the Tiara; but there is likewiſe a great difference between the firſt monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap; as alſo between the firſt chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatneſs is formed gradually, and the origin of every thing is ſmall and inconſiderable.

The

The pontif of Rome eſtabliſhed his greatneſs inſenſibly, during the abaſement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the church was not. Conſtantine had given, to the baſilique of the Lateran only, above a thouſand marks of gold, and above thirty thouſand of ſilver, and aſſigned to it fourteen thouſand ſols of yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and ſent miſſions through all the Weſt, having had occaſion for more conſiderable ſupplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard kings, had granted them lands; and they poſſeſſed, in the neighbourhood of Rome, certain revenues and caſtles called The Juſtices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly ſtrove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whoſe biſhop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly ſuperior to their wealth. It was impoſſible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of pontifs, who had conſoled the church, extended religion, and ſoftened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Francs *.

Although

* It is paying too great a compliment to the Roman Catholic religion to aſcribe theſe bleſſings to a ſucceſſion of popes, who embroiled all Chriſtendom with intrigues, excited rebellions, dethroned kings, denounced damnation, tyrannized over conſcience, preached up war, implacable hatred, and perſecution; armed one half of the world againſt their fellow-creatures; filled the nations of the earth with maſſacre, blood, and deſolation; and in their own perſonal conduct diſplayed the moſt ſhocking compoſition of perfidy, cruelty, profligacy, and ſuperſtition. The barbarous nations were civilized by the gradual improvement

Although the Roman pontifs, in the time of the exarches, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the *ſuburbuary towns*, that is, over the towns ſubjected to the government of the prefect of Rome; nevertheleſs, they were often dignified with the appellation of Univerſal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their ſee. Gregory the Great refuſed that title, which however he merited by his virtues; and his ſucceſſors extended their credit in the Weſt; therefore we ought not to be ſurpriſed to find in the eighth century Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz, the ſame who conſecrated Pepin, expreſs himſelf thus in the form of his oath: "I promiſe to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," &c.

At length, in proceſs of time, the popes formed a deſign of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was inceſſantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was ſo ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent ſedition, might now become a revolution excuſable from neceſſity, and reſpectable through ſucceſs. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II. uſurper of the throne of France, and completed by his ſon Charlemagne, at the time when every thing was in confuſion, and the face of Europe muſt have neceſſarily been changed.

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ment and cultivation of the human underſtanding, which the Roman pontifs in general prevented to the utmoſt of their power, well knowing that ignorance was the mother of devotion.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the Maine and the Sala. Bavaria depended upon this vaſt kingdom. It was the king of France who beſtowed that duchy when he was ſtrong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Francs, which had been almoſt always divided ſince the time of Clovis, and torn by inteſtine wars, was nothing but a vaſt, barbarous province of the ancient Roman empire, which Conſtantinople always reckoned among the rebellious ſtates, though ſhe treated with it as a powerful kingdom,

CHARLEMAGNE.

742.

CHARLEMAGNE, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the ſon of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Francs, and grandſon of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother, is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even preciſely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the ſeſſion of the council of Germany, tho', thanks to the ignorance of thoſe times, we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weſer, and even of the Maine and Rhine, to the Baltick, and the other half Chriſtians.

There were already biſhops at Triers, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by the Romans, and inſtructed by the popes; but that country was then called Auſtraſia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Francs.

One

One Villebrod*, an Engliſhman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Frieſland what little Chriſtianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the ſeventh century, a titular biſhop of Weſtphalia who raiſed little children from the dead. Villebrod took the vain title of Biſhop of Utrecht; and there he built a ſmall church, which was deſtroyed by the pagan Frieſlanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Engliſhman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface †, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apoſtle. The Engliſh were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all thoſe people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Chriſtianity which they knew.

743.

A ſynod at Leſtine in Hainault ſerves to ſhew the manners of thoſe times. There it was regulated, that thoſe who had taken the effects of the church, in order to maintain a war, ſhould give a crown to the church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his ſon Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbeys they had ſeized. It was then equally uſual to endow monks, and to deprive them their endowments.

Boniface, that apoſtle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fuld in the county of Heſſe. At

* Villebrod was a native of Northumberland, educated in the monaſtery of Rippon, who afterwards proſecuted his theological ſtudies in Ireland, at that time famous for the moſt learned and pious profeſſors of the true faith.

† This was Wilfred who had aſſiſted Wilbrod in his apoſtolical labours in Frieſland.

firſt it was no more than a church covered with thatch and ſurrounded with cabbins, inhabited by ſome monks, who grubbed an ungrateful ſoil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk, unleſs he is a gentleman: the abbot has been long a ſovereign, and ſince the year 1753 a biſhop.

744.

Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Auſtraſia, reduces the Bavarian vaſſals, who were in rebellion againſt the king of France, and defeats the Saxons, of whom he wants to make vaſſals alſo.

745.

At this time Boniface was biſhop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the ſee of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Auſtraſia: it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in weſtern France; and Childrick king of all France could ſcarce command the ſervants of his own family. Carloman renounces his ſovereignty to go and turn monk at Montecaſſini.

Hiſtorians ſtill affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloiſter was then the aſylum of thoſe who had too powerful competitors in the world.

747. 748.

In moſt towns of France they renew the cuſtom of the ancient Romans, known under the name of Patronage, or Clientſhip. The citizens choſe patrons among the noblemen; and this circumſtance alone proves that the people in

in Gaul were not divided, as it is pretended they were, into maſters and ſlaves.

749.

Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He reſolves to deprive the Merovean race of the crown; and the firſt ſtep he takes is to gain the apoſtle Boniface over to his party, together with ſeveral biſhops, and at laſt pope Zacharias himſelf.

750.

Pepin cauſes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be depoſed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and ſets himſelf on the throne of the Francs.

751.

Pepin reſolves to ſubdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighbourhood of the Main to the Cimbric Cherſoneſus, who had already conquered England *. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin againſt Luitprand king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himſelf maſter of Rome. The emperor of Conſtantinople was too remote and too weak to ſuccour him; and the firſt domeſtic of the king of France, now become uſurper, was the only perſon who could give him protection.

754.

The firſt known action of Charlemagne was, to go, by order of his father Pepin, and proſtrate himſelf before pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eaſtern cuſtom,

* Thoſe who conquered England, or rather South Britain (for they themſelves gave it the name of England), came from Jutland, Angelem, and Holſtein, and theſe were aſſiſted by the Frieſlanders.

People often kneeled before biſhops, and theſe biſhops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when theſe laſt came to take poſſeſſion.

As for the cuſtom of kiſſing feet, it was not yet introduced in the Weſt. Diocleſian was the firſt who exacted that mark of reſpect. Pope Adrian I. and Leo III. firſt arrogated to the pontificate that honour which Diocleſian had aſſumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors ſubmitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of Auguſt, in the abbey of St. Denis: he had already been conſecreated by Boniface; but the hand of the pope rendered his uſurpation the more reſpectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, ſecretary to Charlemagne, ſays in expreſs terms, that Hilderic was depoſed by order of pope Stephen. Pepin is the firſt European king who was conſecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the ſame time, took care to ſee his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, conſecrated. The pope, before he conſecrated him king, abſolved him of his perjury to his ſovereign Hilderic; and, after the conſecration, fulminated an excommunication againſt whoſoever ſhould at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad have ſhewn great reſpect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompence for the pope's complaiſance, paſſes the Alps with his vaſſal Thaſillon duke of Bavaria,

varia, beſieges Aſtolphus in Pavia, and returns the ſame year without ſucceſs either in making war or peace *.

755.

Scarce had Pepin repaſſed the Alps, when Aſtolphus beſieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the ſimplicity of thoſe ignorant times, than a letter which the pope cauſes to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a ſimplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again beſieges Pavia, makes himſelf maſter of the exarchate, and gives it (as they ſay) to the pope. This is the firſt title of the temporal power of the holy ſee, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the Eaſt. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbiſhops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; conſequently the biſhops of Rome and Ravenna were reſolved to aggrandize themſelves. It is very probable that Pepin gave ſome lands to the popes, and favoured thoſe in Italy who ſtrengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that preſent to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him, but he had alſo taken what was

* The French hiſtorians expreſly ſay, that in this firſt expedition he obliged Aſtolphus to relinquiſh the exarchate of Ravenna and all his conqueſts, together with all his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Rome; and that he exacted an oath from him and his nobility for the performance of theſe articles.

not his own. We find ſcarce any other ſource of the firſt rights. Time renders them legitimate.

756.

Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz goes upon a miſſion among the Frieſland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom: but as hiſtorians ſay that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieſlanders were killed, it is reaſonable to believe that the miſſionaries were ſoldiers. Thaſillon duke of Bavaria does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of thoſe homages which have been ſince called Liegance. By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of thoſe people againſt the Francs ſeem to have been little more than the incurſions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle, and ravage the harveſts. There was no place of length, no policy, no formed deſign. This part of the world was ſtill ſavage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horſes; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of ſlaying ſo many thouſand men.

758. 759. 760.

Didier, or Deſiderius, ſucceſſor of Aſtolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but Pepin was ſo formidable, that Didier is ſaid to have reſtored them in conſequence of his threats only. Hereditary vaſſalage began to be ſo effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy

duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels Gaïfre duke of Aquitaine to take the oath of fidelity to him in preſence of the duke of Bavaria; ſo that he had two great ſovereigns at his feet. We may eaſily perceive that theſe homages were no other than the ſubmiſſion of weakneſs to ſuperior power.

762. 763.

The duke of Bavaria thinking himſelf ſtrong enough, and ſeeing Pepin at a diſtance, revokes his homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity.

766. 767.

The erection of the biſhoprick of Saltzbourg. Pope Paul I. ſends to the king, in a preſent, books, chanters, and a clock. Conſtantine Copronimus likewiſe ſends to him an organ and ſome muſicians. This would not be a fact worthy of hiſtory, if it did not ſhew how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Francs knew nothing but war, hunting, and feaſting.

768.

The preceding years are barren of events, conſequently happy for the people; for almoſt all the great events of hiſtory are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and reunites Aquitaine to the crown.

Pepin, ſurnamed the Short, died at Xaintes, September 24, in the 54th year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in preſence of the great officers of his houſe, his generals, and

thoſe who held extenſive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two ſons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neuſtria, which then extended from the Meuſe to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Auſtraſia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended near one half of Germany.

770.

Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Deſiderata in marriage to Charles, who was already married: he eſpouſes Deſiderata, ſo it appear he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon: Gregory de Tours ſays, that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had ſeveral wives.

771.

His brother Carloman dies ſuddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two princes her children. This death and that flight do not abſolutely prove that Charlemagne was reſolved to reign alone, and entertained evil deſignes againſt his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deſerved to have his feſtival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772.

Charles cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Auſtraſia, and reunites all the vaſt realms of the Francs, without leaving any thing to his nephews. Poſterity, dazzled by the glare of his glory, ſeem to have forgot that injuſtice. He repudiated his wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himſelf for the aſylum which

the

the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field againſt the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight againſt him: this was Witikind, the greateſt defender of the German liberty, next to Herman, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France atacks him in that country which is now called the county de la Lippe. Thoſe people were wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we ſee a moſt rigorous prohibition to ſell cuiraſſes and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and diſcipline of the Francs could not fail of being victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cuts in pieces the army of Witikind, and takes the capital called Erreſbourg. That capital was a number of huts ſurrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are ſlaughtered. He demoliſhes the principal temple of the country, ſaid to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana, *the univerſal principle*, if ever thoſe barbarians acknowledged an univerſal principle; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminſul, a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The prieſts were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weſer. All thoſe diſtricts ſubmitted. Charlemagne reſolved to bind them to his yoke with the tye of Chriſtianity. While he haſtened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conqueſts, he left among them miſſionaries to perſuade, and ſoldiers to compel them. Almoſt all the people, who lived near the Weſer, found themſelves in one year Chriſtians and ſlaves.

773.

While the king of the Francs reſtrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weſer, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the pope ſtill ſubſiſted; and the king, in ſuccouring the church, might have made himſelf maſter of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunſwick. He marched therefore againſt his father-in-law Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to reſtore to the two ſons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloked his uſurpation with piety. He was followed by ſeventy thouſand men, regularly trained to war, an almoſt incredible circumſtance in thoſe times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thouſand men had been aſſembled before this period, but then they conſiſted of peaſants, who retired to their harveſt after a battle was loſt or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his ſtandard, and this diſcipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774.

The French army beſieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the donations of Pepin, and with his own hand places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the aſhes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verſes of his own writing.

The Tradition of Rome ſays, that Charles gave Corſica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but ſurely he

he did not beſtow any of theſe countries, which were not in his poſſeſſion But there is ſtill extant a letter from Adrian to the empreſs Irene, which proves that Charles gave ſome dominions which are not ſpecified in the letter. "Charles duke of the Francs and Patrician, ſaid he, hath given us provinces, and reſtored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the church, &c."

We find that Adrian ſtill carefully huſbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and ſeeking to fortify his poſſeſſion with the name of reſtitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier ſurrenders himſelf, is made a monk, and ſent to the abbey of Corbie in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had deſtroyed the Roman power in Italy, and ſubſtituted their own laws in the room of thoſe made by the emperors. Every king, who had the misfortune to be dethroned, became a monk in thoſe days.

Charlemagne cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, ſtill preſerved in the little town of Monza.

Juſtice was ſtill adminiſtred in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for though the emperor was deprived of the ſubſtance, he ſtill retained the ſhadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, aſſumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive; ſo that the name of Emperor, which originally ſigni-

fied no more than the general of an army, ſtill implied the Maſter of the Eaſt and Weſt. Unſubſtantial as it was, they reſpected it, and even were afraid to uſurp it. They affected no more than the term Patrician, which formerly meaned a Roman Senator, and which at that time ſignified a Lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheleſs, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; from whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himſelf maſter in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the biſhops of the Francs and Germans, ſeized the regal rights as ſoon as they were in their power; all authority ſeeks to augment itſelf; and for that reaſon only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was ſtamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

775.

The ſecond effort of the Saxons againſt Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Weſtphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been ſhed, gave cattle and hoſtages, having nothing elſe to pay.

776.

An attempt of Adalgiſe the ſon of Didier to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian conſtrues it into a horrible conſpiracy. Charles haſtens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friouli, who was an accomplice; and every thing ſubmits to his fortune. During

During that very period, the Saxons return to Weſtphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They ſubmit, and promiſe again to become Chriſtians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777.

He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to ſwear they will become ſlaves, ſhould they ever ceaſe to be Chriſtians and ſubmiſſive. At a grand diet, held at Paderborn in tents, a Muſulman emir, who command at Saragoſſa, came to conjure Charlemagne to ſupport his rebellion againſt Abderame king of Spain.

778.

Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; eſpouſes the cauſe of this emir; beſieges and takes Pampelune. We may obſerve, that the ſpoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and ſoldiers, according to the ancient cuſtom of making war only for the ſake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all thoſe who had an equal ſhare of the danger. But all that booty is loſt in repaſſing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut in pieces at Roncevalles by the Arabians and Gaſcons. There, it is ſaid, periſhed his nephew Orlando, ſo celebrated for his courage and incredible ſtrength.

As the Saxons had recourſe to arms while Charles was in Italy, ſo they take them up while he is in Spain Witikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen: he reaſſembles them; finds in Bremen the capital of the

the country which bears that name, a biſhop, a church, and his Saxons in deſpair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the biſhop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Witikind again.

780.

Victor on all hands, he ſets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegarde, and two younger children, Pepin and Lewis. Pope Adrian baptizes theſe two children, and conſecreats Pepin king of Lombardy, and Lewis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for ſome time.

781. 782.

The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ratiſbon, and Cuerci. There he is viſited by Alcuin archbiſhop of York. The king, who could ſcarce ſign his own name, was reſolved to make ſcience flouriſh, becauſe he would be great in every thing. Peter de Piſa taught him a ſmattering of grammar. It is not ſurpriſing that the Italians ſhould inſtruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they ſhould have always had occaſion for Engliſhmen to learn that which at this day is not honoured with the name of Science.

They held conference before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, eſpecially thoſe of Italy, in which every academician aſſumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin of Albinus *,

* Albuin or Albinus was invited over by Charlemagne, and became his favourite. The claſſical name which this prelate aſſumed was Flaccus.

and

and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verſes, boldly appropriated to himſelf the name of Homer.

783.

Mean while Witikind, who did not learn grammar, raiſed an inſurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weſer. Charles comes to repair this loſs. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Witikind. They anſwer that he has eſcaped to Denmark. *His accomplices are ſtill here*, replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thouſand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Chriſtianity.

784.

This maſſacre had the ſame effect as that produced a long time after by the maſſacre called St. Bartholemew in France. All the Saxons reſumed their arms with fury and deſpair, and were joined by the Danes and neighbouring nations.

785.

Charles marches againſt this multitude, with his ſon of the ſame name. He obtains a new victory, and again impoſes fruitleſs laws: eſtabliſhing marquiſes or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786.

Witikind yields at length. He comes with a duke of Frieſland, and ſubmits to Charlemagne at Attigni ſur l'Aine. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holſtein. The King of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds

builds Florence; it is very remarkable, that he is no ſooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a ſure ſign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the King repaſſes the Alps.

787.

The Empreſs Irene, who ſtill governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only Empire, had formed a powerful league againſt the King of France. It was compoſed of thoſe very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns ſo famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay, part of Italy itſelf had engaged in the aſſociation. Charles vanquiſhed the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was diſſipated.

From 788 to 792.

During theſe four years of peace, he opened ſchools in the houſes of biſhops and monaſteries. The Roman chanting was eſtabliſhed in the churches of France. At the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle he inſtituted thoſe laws which are called Capitulary. Laws that ſavour ſtrongly of that barbariſm which they were meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

Theſe that follow are the cuſtoms, manners, laws and ſpirit, which then prevailed.

LAWS and CUSTOMS obſerved in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

PRovinces were governed and troops levied by Dukes, ſome of whom were removeable, and others hereditary vaſſals, much in the ſame manner

manner as the Turkiſh provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. Theſe Dukes had been inſtituted in Italy by Diocleſian. The Counts, whoſe origin appears to have been in the time of Theodoſius, commanded under the Dukes, each aſſembling the troops in his own diſtrict. The farms, the towns, and villages furniſhed a number of ſoldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horſeman armed with caſque and cuiraſs.

The other ſoldiers wore nothing but a long ſquare buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin and ſword. Thoſe who uſed arrows were obliged to have at leaſt a dozen in their quivers. The province that furniſhed the ſoldiery, provided them with corn and proviſions for ſix months. The king maintained them for the reſt of the campaign. They were reviewed on the firſt of March and the firſt of May. It was uſually at theſe ſeaſons that the parliaments were held. In beſieging towns they employed the Ram, the Baliſta, the Tortoiſe, and almoſt all the machines of the Romans, for, of all their arts, that of war alone ſubſiſted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Richlomes, with their followers, compoſed what little cavalry was then to be ſeen in armies. The Muſſulmans of Africa and Spain had a great number of horſe. It appears that afterwards, they learned of them to cover their men and horſes with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long

after his death no ſuch armaments were to be ſeen. By theſe means the warlike police which he maintained on all the coaſts, he put a ſtop to thoſe inundations of northern people, who then exerciſed the trade of pirates. He contained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his puſillanimous deſcendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in thoſe aſſemblies which repreſented the nation, according to the cuſtom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, parliaments had no will but that of their maſter, who knew how to command and perſuade.

He cauſed trade to flouriſh a little in his vaſt dominions, becauſe he was maſter of the ſeas. Thus merchants from the coaſt of Tuſcany went to trade at Conſtantinople among the Chriſtians, and at the port of Alexandria among the Muſſulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Aſia.

Venice and Genoa, ſo powerful in the ſequel, by means of trade, had not yet engroſſed the riches of the nations, tho' Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, and Tours, had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damaſked, glaſs was made, ſilk ſtuffs were not woven in any city of the Weſt.

The Venetians began to bring them from Conſtantinople, where they were not known till after the Emperor Juſtinian; but it was not till near four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Moors fabricated ſilk at Cordova,

dova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, afterwards eſtabliſhed a ſilk manufactory at Palermo. Almoſt all the works of induſtry and craft were performed in the empire of the Eaſt. Linen was very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a biſhop ſettled in Germany, deſires he will ſend him ſome ſhagged cloth to wipe his feet after waſhing. This want of linen was in all probability, the cauſe of thoſe diſeaſes of the ſkin, known by the name of Leproſy *, ſo riſe in thoſe days; for there was already a great number of thoſe hoſpitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the Black Sea and the Ocean. But the ſpirit of conqueſt might have had a greater ſhare in this undertaking, than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the ſame value as that of the Roman empire after Conſtantine. The golden ſol was the *ſolidum Romanum*, which the

* We ſhould rather think that the wearing of woollen next the ſkin would help to prevent the leproſy, by promoting a copious and regular perſpiration, We do not find that the Romans were ſubject to this diſtemper; nor the other Europeans, before the uſe of linen was known to them. The leproſy made no figure among the northern nations, until it was imported from the Eaſt, in the time of the cruſades; and then it gained ground to ſuch a degree, that it was found expedient to build lazar-houſes in almoſt every kingdom of Europe.

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barbarians called ſol from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *Auguſtus* they made *Août*; of *Forum Julii* Frejus; and this golden ſol was equivalent to forty deniers of ſilver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

THE CHURCH.

THE churches of France were rich, thoſe of Germany began to be rich, and were deſtined one day to be more ſo, becauſe they were endowed with larger territories. The Biſhops and Abbots had a great number of ſlaves. The Abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thouſand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin poſſeſſed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thouſand men, all belonging to the lord or ſuperior. Theſe ſlaves, known under the name of *Serfs*, could not marry, nor change the place of their abode without the permiſſion of the Abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them. They worked for him three days in the week, and he ſhared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the biſhops more than once have been known to go to battle with their *Serfs*. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives called Fraſtada, mentions a Biſhop who had valiantly fought by his ſide, in a battle againſt the Avares, a people deſcended from the Scythians, who were ſettled towards the country which is now called Auſtria.

We

We find in his time 14 monaſteries which were obliged to furniſh ſoldiers. If the Abbot was in the leaſt inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in perſon; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of prieſts had been ſlain in war. Then the miniſters of the altar were forbid going to battle, but cuſtom was the ſtronger law.

We ſee in the Bavarian laws and the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, that the prieſts were forbid to have any other women in their houſes, but their mothers and ſiſters: this was one of thoſe laws which are contradicted by cuſtom.

No perſon was allowed to call himſelf clerk who was not really ſo, or to wear the tonſure without belonging to a biſhop. Such clerks were called *Acephali*, and puniſhed as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the ſtation ſo common in our days, which is neither ſecular nor eccleſiaſtic*. The title of *Abbot*, which ſignifies father, belonged to none but the chiefs of monaſteries, or even to ſeculars conſtituted in dignity; for example, the title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The Abbots of that time had the paſtoral ſtaff which the Biſhops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power thoſe Abbots had

* A ſet of people known by the name of Abbes, who diſtinguiſh themſelves from the laity by a kind of clerical habit, tho' in reality they do not belong to any order of the church: many individuals aſſume this habit to ſave the expence of lace and embroidery; for the abbe's dreſs, like canonicals in England, entitles the wearer to admiſſion into the beſt company.

over their monks, that they ſometimes condemned them to the moſt cruel afflictive pains. They were the firſt who adopted the barbarous cuſtom of the Greek Emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes *, and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the maſs was different from what it is at preſent, and ſtill more different from what it had been in the firſt ages: there was no more than one ſaid in every church. And Kings very rarely cauſed them to be ſaid in private.

The firſt auricular confeſſion which is called general confeſſion, is that of St. Eloy in the ſixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted againſt ſuch a ſalutary inſtitution, ſeem to have diveſted mankind of the moſt effectual bridle to reſtrain their ſecret crimes. Even the very ſages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and tho' they had not been able to impoſe it as a duty on all men, they had eſtabliſhed the practice of it among thoſe who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the firſt expiation of thoſe who were initiated among the ancient Egyptians, and in the Eleuſinian Myſteries of Ceres. Thus the Chriſtian Religion hath conſecrated things, the ſhadow of which God had permitted human wiſdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conqueſts of Charlemagne. Denmark, and all the country of the Normans were plunged in groſs idolatry. The

* An operation performed by bringing a piece of red hot metal ſo near the eye, as to deſtroy that organ.

inha-

inhabitants adored Odin; they imagined that after death, the happineſs of man conſiſted in drinking beer out of the ſculls of their enemies in Odin's Hall. We have ſtill tranſlations of their old ſongs which expreſs this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe another life. Poland was neither leſs barbarous nor leſs idolatrous. The Muſcovites, more ſavage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew ſcarce enough of religion to be Pagans, Yet all theſe nations lived quietly and peaceably * in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who ſold the knowledge of Chriſtianity ſo dear.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

LAWS and CUSTOMS.

JUſtice was uſually adminiſtred by counts appointed by the king. They had their reſpective diſtricts aſſigned, and were ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither ſo numerous nor obſcure as ours: the proceedings were ſimple, and every man pleaded his own cauſe in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies ſtill retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the reſt of Hither Italy.

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* Not ſo quietly, if we may believe the hiſtories of Saxo-grammaticus, Loccinius, &c. How is it poſſible that ſavage nations could live peaceably, who depended upon plunder for many of the neceſſaries of life?

Every

Every count had under him a lieutenant called Viguier, ſeven aſſeſſors (Scabinii) choſen in the city. Like the ancient Roman Senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay they were forbid to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even ſoldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wiſe law, conformable to that of the Romans and Muſſulmans, prevented thoſe quarrels and continual duels which afterwards deſolated Europe, when the faſhion was introduced of never quitting the ſword, but of going armed into the houſes of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuſe carried to ſuch a length, that in Spain, Germany and Flanders, the judge, the counſellor, the ſolicitor, and phyſician, walk at this day with their ſwords by their ſides, as if they were going to fight.

Thoſe counts publiſhed in their juriſdiction the order of marching to war, enliſting ſoldiers under captains or companies of an hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the mean time left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The King ſent commiſſaries with expreſs letters, *Miſſi Dominici*, to examine the conduct of the counts: but neither thoſe commiſſaries nor counts ſcarce ever condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal puniſhment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted ſanguinary laws, almoſt all ſorts of crimes were puniſhed by fine through the reſt of his empire; that of rebellion alone was puniſhed with death, and the kings reſerved the

judgment to themſelves. The Salique law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had ſet fixed prices upon the greateſt part of all the other outrages which are now puniſhed with the loſs of life, or by ſevere penalties. This juriſprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left every body who could pay for it, a liberty to do miſchief. The gentleſt law is that which by bridling iniquity in the moſt terrible manner, prevents the frequent commiſſion of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert king of the Francs, it coſt one hundred ſols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loſs of the ear was not attended with deafneſs, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred ſols, and that of a pariſh prieſt at ſix hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law, allows the murderer of a biſhop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden Tunique, as long as the deliquent, and of a determined thickneſs.

The Salique law revived under Charlemagne, fixes the price of a biſhop's life at 400 ſols. It is ſo true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of thoſe laws are thus expreſſed. *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum ſolidis.* The delinquent may compound for 300, 200, or 100, ſols.

The torture was applied to ſlaves only, and he who by the torture occaſioned the death of an innocent ſlave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of ſatisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salique and Lombard laws, did nothing but raiſe the price of crimes. They were all ſpecified, and a diſtinction made between the price of a ſtroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the ſcull: the firſt was valued at 45 ſols, and the other at 20.

A witch convicted of having eaten human fleſh, was condemned to pay 200 ſols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the exceſs to which we may be driven by ſuperſtition.

All outrages againſt chaſtity had likewiſe their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman coſt 200 ſols. For having violated a girl on the highway, they payed but forty ſols. Whoſoever carried off a girl of ſervile condition, was fined in four ſols, and obliged to reſtore her to her maſter. The moſt ſevere of thoſe barbarous laws, was preciſely that which ought to have been the moſt gentle. Charlemagne himſelf, in the ſixth book of his Capitularies, ſays that a man's marrying his godmother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned no other way but by ſpending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salique laws there is one which ſtrongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with thoſe barbarous people: The Franc who had ſlain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2500 for the blood of a Franc.

In criminal cauſes that could not be otherwiſe decided, the accuſed party purged himſelf by oath, and not only himſelf, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witneſſes

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to ſwear to the ſame effect *. When both parties oppoſed oath to oath, the combat was ſome times permitted.

Theſe combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God: this is the name they gave to the moſt deplorable follies of thoſe barbarous governments. The accuſed were ſubjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of thoſe trials. They began with the maſs, the accuſed perſon was excommunicated, the cold water was bleſſed and exorciſed, and then being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water: If he ſunk to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the ſurface, he was found guilty. Mr. de Fleuri, in his Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, ſays it was a ſure way to find no perſon criminal. I dare ſay, it was a way by which many innocent perſons periſhed. There are many men whoſe breaſts are ſo large, and whoſe lungs are ſo light, as to hinder them from ſinking, eſpecially when a thick cord with which they are tied in ſeveral circumvolutions, conſtitutes, with the body, a volume ſpecifically lighter than the ſame quantity of water ‖. This wretched cuſtom, ſince proſcribed in large cities, is preſerved even to our days in many provinces; and thoſe who incurred the imputation of ſorcery have been often ſubjected to it, even by the ſentence of the judge; for nothing en-

* Reſembling the cuſtom of *Frank pledge* among the Saxons, which was borrowed from the Lombards.

‖ We have animadverted on this remark in the firſt volume of the tranſlation.

dures ſo long as ſuperſtition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has loſt his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accuſed to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water, and take up from the bottom a conſecrated ring. The judge, in preſence of the prieſts and the people, incloſed the patient's arm in a bag ſealed with his own ſeal: and if in three days after, no mark of a ſcald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconſiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly ſee that the judges could warp theſe ſtrange laws according to their own pleaſure, ſeeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was conſiderable enough to conſtitute the crime.

793.

Charles being neighbour to the Huns, of conſequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies troops againſt them, and girds his ſon Lewis with the ſword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles*, that is, inſtructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as ſome authors have imagined. Chivalry was not eſtabliſhed until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles aſſembles the biſhops to judge the doctrine of Elipand archbiſhop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbiſhop of Toledo at that time when the Muſſulmans were maſters in Spain; but we muſt know that the Muſſulmans, though victors, left liberty of conſcience to the vanquiſhed; that they did not think the Chriſtians

Chriſtians were worthy to be Muſſulmans, and contented themſelves with impoſing a ſlight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jeſus Chriſt as man was the adopted ſon, but as God the natural ſon of God the Father. It was a difficult point to reſolve by one's ſelf; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and aſſembles biſhops, a conſpiracy is formed againſt him. He had a ſon by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchbacked, to diſtinguiſh him from his other ſon Pepin, king of Italy. Such children as are now called baſtards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time, and were not reputed baſtards. Hunchback, though the eldeſt of all the ſons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conſpiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratiſbon, tried by a parliament, ſhaved, and ſent to the monaſtry of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes put out, and others are beheaded.

794.

The Saxons revolt again, and are again eaſily defeated. Witikind was no longer at their head *.

The famous council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the ſecond council of Nicea, in which the empreſs Irene had re-eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images.

* This chief had turned Chriſtian when he ſubmitted to Charlemagne, and after that period was never concerned in any inſurrection.

Charlemagne cauſes the Carolin-Books to be written againſt image worſhip. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Francs; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendſhip was neceſſary.

795.

The duke of Friuli, a vaſſal of Charles, is ſent againſt the Huns; and makes himſelf maſter of their treaſures, ſuppoſing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is ſaid to have written his epitaph in Latin verſe; but one can hardly believe that this king of the Franks, who could not write *, ſhould nevertheleſs be capable of making Latin verſes.

796.

Leo III. ſucceeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election, and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expreſſes himſelf as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expreſſed himſelf to the Franks as mayor of the palace.

797. 798.

Pepin king of Italy is ſent by his father againſt the Huns; a ſure ſign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated empreſs Irene is ſhut up in a cloiſter by her ſon Conſtantine V. She re-aſcends the throne; cauſes her ſon's eyes

* The French hiſtorians ſays poſitively, that he ſpoke and wrote Latin fluently, and even compoſed verſes in that language; that he underſtood Greek, and was a good proficient in aſtronomy. If that was the caſe, it is very ſtrange he ſhould not have learned to write.

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to be put out: he dies of the operation, and ſhe laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was deſirous of being allied to him.

799.

At this period the Normans, that is, *men of the North*, who inhabited the coaſts of the Baltick, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the ſeas of them.

The new pope Leo III. incurs the reſentment of the Romans: his canons reſolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds: he comes to Paderborn to demand juſtice of Charles, who ſends him back to Rome with an eſcorte. Charles follows him in a little time: ſends his ſon Pepin to ſeize the duchy of Beneventum, which ſtill held of the emperor of Conſtantinople.

800.

He arrives at Rome; declares the pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge; and the pope declares him emperor amidſt the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his joy under the cloke of modeſty, and ſeems aſtoniſhed at his glory: he acts as the ſovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæſars: but to render that empire durable, there was a neceſſity for his remaining at Rome.

801.

Hiſtorians alledge, that as ſoon as he was emperor, Irene expreſſed a deſire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

802.

Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria was exempted from his legiſlative power. John duke of Venice, having aſſaſſinated a biſhop, is accuſed before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, ſucceſſor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement above the limits of the two empires.

803. 404.

The emperor applies himſelf to the eſtabliſhment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again diſperſes the factions of the Saxons, and at laſt tranſports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itſelf.

805.

He dictates his laſt will, which begins thus: "Charles, Emperor, Cæſar, the moſt invincible king of the Francs," &c. He bequeaths to Lewis all the country from Spain to the Rhine: he leaves Italy and Bavaria to Pepin; and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldſtadt, and all Auſtraſia from the Scheld to the confines of Brandenbourg. In theſe three lots there was ſubject for eternal diviſions. Charlemagne thought to prvent all diſienſions, by ordaining, that if any difference ſhould happen about the limits of theſe kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they ſhould appeal to the *Judgement of the Croſs*. This conſiſted in making the oppoſite advocates ſtand with their arms extended, and he who was firſt wearied loſt the cauſe. The natural good ſenſe

of

of ſo great a conqueror could not over-balance the cuſtoms of the age.

Charlemagne ſtill retains the empire and the ſovereignty, and was king of the kings his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament. The parliament was compoſed of biſhops, abbots, officers of the palace and the army, who attended for no other reaſon but to atteſt the will of an abſolute maſter. The diets were not then what they are now; and that vaſt republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns, under one chief, was not then eſtabliſhed.

806.

The famous Aaron, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, ſends ambaſſadors and preſents to Charlemagne. The nations beſtowed upon Aaron a title ſuperior to that of Charlemagne; the emperor of the Weſt was ſurnamed The Great, but the caliph was ſurnamed The Juſt *.

It is not ſurpriſing that Aaron Raſchid ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the French emperor: they were both enemies to the emperor of the Eaſt: but what would be ſurpriſing is, that the caliph, as our hiſtorians alledge, ſhould propoſe the ceſſion of Jeruſalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a prophanation in the caliph to yield up to Chriſtians a city full of Moſques; and this prophanation would have coſt him his throne and life. Beſides, enthuſiaſm had not as yet ſummoned the Chriſtians of the Weſt to Jeruſalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, "that

* He was called Aaron Al Raſchid, or The Upright.

the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it ſoon after. Thus ſome *Dogmas* are eſtabliſhed by little and little.

At this period, the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the ancient Saxons, who had retired among them, preſumed to menace the coaſts of the new empire. Charles croſſes the Elbe; and Godfrey, chief of all thoſe Barbarians, in order to defend himſelf, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltick, on the confines of Holſtein, the ancient Cimbrique Cherſoneſus, and fortifies this trench with a ſtrong paliſado. In the ſame manner the Romans had drawn an intrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chineſe wall *.

807. 808. 809.

Treaties with the Danes. Laws for the Saxons. Police eſtabliſhed in the empire. Small fleets ſtationed at the mouths of rivers.

810.

Pepin that ſon of Charlemagne to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July, leaving a baſtard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, beſtows Italy on this baſtard, as the natural heir, according to the cuſtom of the time.

* Why imitations? might not common ſenſe and reflection point out the expedient to people who had never heard of the Chineſe wall; which, in all probability, was the caſe with thoſe barbarians?—We muſt alſo obſerve, that the Roman wall drawn acroſs the North of England by Severus was as ſtrong and effectual as the famous wall of China.

811.

A fleet ſtationed at Boulogne, in the channel. A light-houſe rebuilt at Boulogne. Wurtzburg built. The death of prince Charles deſtined for the empire.

813.

The emperor aſſociates his ſon Lewis in the empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-Chapelle. All preſent are obliged to give their votes for this aſſociation. He gives the city of Ulm to the Monks, who treat the inhabitants like ſlaves. He gives lands to Eginard the ſuppoſed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fables worthy of archbiſhop Turpin *, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814.

He dies of a pleuriſy after ſeven days illneſs, January 28, at three in the morning. He had no phyſician near him who knew what a pleuriſy was. Medicine, like almoſt all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Conſtantinople.

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* The fabulous hiſtory of Charlemagne and Orlando, which furniſhed the ground-work for the poems of Boyardo and Arioſto, was not written by archbiſhop Turpin, but by a monk who aſſumed the name of Turpin, in the eleventh century; whereas the archbiſhop of Rheims, to whom it has been falſely imputed, flouriſhed in the eighth.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, OR THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814.

LEWIS haſtens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himſelf in full poſſeſſion of the empire. He was born in 578 to Charlemagne, by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is ſaid to have had beauty, ſtrength, health, and addreſs at all his exerciſes, and to have underſtood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the North by the Baltick and Denmark; the Ocean on the Weſt; the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Pyrenees on the South and the Viſtula and Tæiſſa on the Eaſt. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually ſeven thouſand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very conſiderable ſum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and conſtituted the boundary of the two empires.

815.

The firſt ſtep that Lewis took, was to ſhut up all his ſiſters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a meaſure for which he was not beloved either in his own family, or in the ſtate; the ſecond was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incenſe his nephew Bernard king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and ſaw all his friends exiled.

816. Stephen

816.

Stephen IV. is elected biſhop of Rome and pope by the Roman people, without conſulting the emperor; but he makes the people ſwear obedience and fidelity to Lewis, to whom he carries the oath in perſon to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes ſhall be elected in preſence of the emperor's ambaſſadors.

817.

Lewis aſſociates his eldeſt ſon Lotharius in the empire. This was being in a great hurry. He makes Pepin, his ſecond ſon, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with ſome neighbouring countries, into a kingdom for his youngeſt ſon Lewis. All three are diſſatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the ſmallneſs of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more diſſatisfied than all the reſt.

818.

The emperor Lewis thought himſelf emperor of Rome, and Bernard grandſon of Charlemagne would have no maſter in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his diviſion had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard had recourſe to arms, and meet at Chaalons ſur Saone. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious then warlike, loſes parts of his army without fighting; and ſubmits to the mercy of Lewis the Debonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew Bernard and all his partiſans to be put out. The operation

was

was not expertly performed upon Bernard, who dies three days after he had undergone it. This cuſtom of putting out the eyes of princes, was very much practiſed by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819.

The emperor loſes his wife Ermengarde, and heſitates whether he ſhall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies ſome troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-Chapelle.

820.

His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians who had conquered theſe provinces.

821.

Several eccleſiaſtics inſpire the emperor Lewis with remorſe for the puniſhment he had inflicted upon his nephew king Bernard, and the monaſterial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whoſe names were Drogon, Thierri, and Hugues, contrary to the promiſe he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Thoſe eccleſiaſtics were in the right. It is a conſolation to mankind, that there are every where men who can in the name of the Divinity inſpire princes with remorſe: but there they ought to ſtop, without perſecuting and debaſing them.

822.

The biſhops and abbots impoſe a public penance on the emperor. He appears, in the aſſembly of Attigni, covered with hair-cloth. He gives archbiſhopricks and abbeys to his brothers whom

whom he had made monks againſt their inclination. He implores forgiveneſs of God for the death of Bernard; this might have been done without hair-cloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823.

What were more dangerous circumſtances, Lotharius, whom he had aſſociated in the empire, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome by pope Paſchal; the empereſs Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Lewis, was his neglecting to fix the ſtate of empire at Rome. Pope Paſchal without remiſſion put out the eyes of all thoſe who preached up obedience to emperors; but afterwards he ſwore before God, that he had no ſhare in theſe executions, and the emperor ſaid not a word.

The empreſs Judith is delivered at Compeigne of a ſon who is called Charles, Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father Lewis the emperor exacts of him an oath, importing that he would conſent to give ſome kingdom to this child: a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreſeen.

824.

Pope Paſcal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius, at his return to Rome, cauſes informations to be taken againſt his memory. The proceſs is dropt. Lotharius, as emperor and ſovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes; but in theſe very laws, he names the pope before himſelf; a very dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the

the two emperors, but there it is expreſly ſaid it was of his own free-will. The clergy and the Roman people ſwear they will never ſuffer a pope to be elected without the conſent of the emperor. They ſwear fealty to their lords Lewis and Lotharius, but add, "ſaving the fidelity we have promiſed to our lord the pope."

It ſeems that in all the oaths of thoſe times, there were clauſes by which they were in effect annulled.

Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. Thoſe people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but in leſs than forty days they were obliged to yield to the ſtronger power.

825.

One Heriolt duke of the Danes comes to the court of Lewis to embrace the Chriſtian religion; but this was becauſe he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperors ſends Anſcharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Chriſtianity in the deſerts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the biſhoprick of Hamburgh for this Anſcharius, and from Hamburgh the miſſionaries are to ſet out, in order to convert the North.

New Corbie is founded in Weſtphalia for the ſame purpoſe. The abbot, inſtead of being a miſſionary, is now a prince of the empire.

826.

While Lewis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the miſſions of the North, the Mooriſh kings of Spain ſends troops into Aquitaine, and war is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Muſſulmans and the Chriſtians; but it is ſoon terminated by agreement.

827. The

827.

The emperor Lewis cauſes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouſe. He repents of this meaſure. The council of Paris writes to him and his ſon Lotharius: "We intreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Conſtantine, that the biſhops have a right to judge you, and that biſhops cannot be judged by man."

Lewis beſtows upon his young ſon Charles in the cradle, what was then called Germany, ſituate between the Maine, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Swiſſerland.

The three other children of Lewis reſent this partition, and at firſt excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828.

Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her huſband the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom ſhe had placed at the head of affairs.

829.

So many weakneſſes gave birth to factions. An abbot, called Vala, a relation of Lewis, begins a conſpiracy againſt the emperor. His three children, Lotharius aſſociated by him in the empire, Pepin to whom he had given Acquitaine, and Lewis who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared againſt their father.

An abbot of St. Denis, who had at the ſame time St. Medard de Soiſſons and St. Germain, promiſes to levy troops for their ſervice. The biſhops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons, declare all

all thoſe who will not join them, "rebels to God and the church." This was not the firſt time the world had ſeen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the firſt time any father had at one time ſeen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830.

Each of theſe rebellious ſons had an army; and the father had put an handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Picardy. He ſet out on Aſh-Wedneſday; a circumſtance trifling in itſelf, but became eternally memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to ſacrilege.

At firſt a remnant of reſpect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Lewis the Weak the hearing in an aſſembly at Compiegne. There he promiſed to be ruled by the advice of his ſon king Pepin and that of the prieſts, and to make his wife a nun: but until a deciſive reſolution can be taken, Pepin, according to the cuſtom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that gallant of Judith who thought himſelf ſecure; and his brother underwent the ſame fate.

Thoſe who have a taſte for the reſearches of antiquity, are of opinion, that Bernard preſerved his eyes, and that his brother ſuffered for him. True knowledge does not conſiſt in the inveſtigation of theſe things; but in knowing the barbarous cuſtoms which prevailed at that time, the weakneſs of the government, the miſery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotha-

Lotharius arrives from Italy: he puts the emperor his father in priſon, in the hands of monks. One of theſe, whoſe name was Gombaud, having more addreſs than his fellows, ſerves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themſelves, and the emperor, at the mercy of thoſe by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confuſion.

831.

Diets are aſſembled, and armies raiſed on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy. Lewis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany, and makes his peace at the head of an army.

Pepin is made priſoner. Lotharius is taken into favour; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832.

The empreſs Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment, to ſtrip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and give it to her ſon Charles, that is to herſelf in the name of her ſon. If the emperor Lewis the Weak had not given away ſo many kingdoms, he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inſpire more reſpect and excite more trouble.

833.

Some biſhops attached to the emperor Lewis, particularly thoſe of Germany, write to the Pope: "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou ſhalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious ſons, and

and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neigbourhood of Baſil againſt the imperial army. The Pope writes to the Biſhops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Lewis." In order to prove that aſſertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiate, is called The field of deceit. He ſeduced the emperor's officers and ſoldiers. That unfortunate father ſurrenders himſelf to his rebellious ſons Lotharius and Lewis of Bavaria, on this ſingle condition, that they ſhould not put out the eyes of his wife and ſon Charles who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius ſends his mother-in-law priſoner to Tortona; his father to the abbey of St. Medard, and his brother Charles to the monaſtery of Prum. He aſſembles a diet at Compiegne, and from thence adjourns to Soiſſons.

An archbiſhop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a ſervile condition againſt the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Lewis himſelf, depoſes his ſovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, ſurrounded by thirty biſhops, canons and monks in the church of Notre Dame at Soiſſons. Lotharius is preſent at the humiliation of the father. An hair-cloth is ſpread before the altar. The archbiſhop commands the emperor to take off his baldrick, ſword and habit, and proſtrate himſelf upon this hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deſerved but too well by this abject ſubmiſſion. The archbiſhop compels him to read aloud the liſt

of

of his crimes, among which it is ſpecified that he had ordered his troops to march on Aſh-Wedneſday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thurſday. They conſtitute a verbal proceſs of this whole tranſaction, a monument ſtill extant of inſolence and meanneſs. In this proceſs they did not even deign to call Lewis by the name of Emperor.

Lewis the Weak continues ſhut up for the ſpace of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soiſſons, cloathed in ſack-cloth, without ſervants, without conſolation. Had he had but one ſon, he would have been loſt for ever; but his three children quarrelled about his ſpoils, and their diſſenſions ſoon reſtored liberty and the crown to their father.

At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an aſſemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infeſted the coaſts of the empire. They burned the new biſhoprick of Hamburg, ſacked and plundered Frieſland, ſhewed by anticipation the miſeries they would one day occaſion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a ſum of money, which invited them to return again.

834.

Lewis king of Bavaria, and Pepin king of Aquitaine, reſolve to deliver their father, becauſe they are diſſatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to conſent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-eſtabliſhed at St. Denis near Paris, but he dares not reſume the crown, till after he is abſolved by the biſhops.

835.

As ſoon as he is abſolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius reſtores his wife Judith

and his ſon Charles. An aſſembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soiſſons. It coſts the archbiſhop Ebbon no more than the loſs of his ſee; beſides, he was only depoſed in the veſtry; whereas the emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836.

This whole year is ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837.

Lewis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not, ſaid the emperor to his aſtrologer, to let me know what that comet ſignifies." The aſtrologer anſwers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own; prepares himſelf for death, and recovers. That ſame year the comet had its effect upon his ſon king Pepin. This was a new ſource of trouble.

838.

The emperor Lewis has now but two children to fear, inſtead of three. Lewis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839.

Lotharius likewiſe begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes every thing from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy poſſeſſed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comté, part of Lorrain, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alſace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Frieſland. He gave to his beloved Charles the ſon of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuſe, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the ſecret to

diſguſt

diſguſt his children and grand-children. Lewis of Bavaria takes arms againſt him.

840.

Lewis the emperor dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes preſents to his children. Some partiſans of Lewis of Bavaria, expoſtulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural ſon, "I forgave him, ſaid he, but let him know he is the cauſe of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome, which owes every thing to the kings of the Francs. One is ſurpriſed in reading the charter called *Carta diviſionis*, to find him adding Corſica, Sardinia and Sicily to thoſe preſents. Sardinia and Sicily were diſputed between the Muſſulmans and ſome Chriſtians adventures, which laſt had recourſe to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They conſented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Lewis the Weak actually ceded the ſuperiority of Sardinia and Corſica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the eaſt.

Lewis expires June 20, 840.

LOTHARIUS.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841.

IN a little time after the death of his ſon, Charlemagne's empire underwent the deſtiny of Alexander's and of the greatneſs of the caliphs.

liphs. Raiſed with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by inteſtine wars.

It is not at all ſurprizing, that princes who had dethroned their father, ſhould wiſh to exterminate each other. Every one vied in ſtripping his brother. Lotharius the emperor wanted to have the whole. Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the ſon of Judith united againſt him. They laid waſte the empire, and drained it of ſoldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fonteney in the Auxerois. An hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have been loſt on this occaſion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhicited to the world an example of policy, quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conquetor of the Saxons and Frieſlanders had ſubjected them to Chriſtianity as a neceſſary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his intereſt, gives them free liberty of conſcience, and one half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842.

The two brothers, Lewis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almoſt the only monument * extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur & pro Chriſtian poblo, & noſtro commun ſalvament dinſt di in avant, in quant Deos ſavir & podir me dunat, &c.* This language is ſtill ſpoken by the Griſons of the valley of Engadina.

843. 844.

An aſſembly is held at Verdun, for a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps.

* Since the publication of theſe annals, other ſpecimens of this language have been offered to the public, even by our author himſelf, as appears in the courſe of our tranſlation.

Italy

Italy waits in tranquility, until the fate of arms ſhall give her a maſter.

845.

While the three brothers tear in pieces the boſom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waſte the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers ſign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by an hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He poſſeſſes Italy, part of Burgundy, the courſe of the Rhine, the Scheld and the Meuſe. Lewis of Bavaria keeps all the reſt of Germany. Charles, afterwards ſurnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over theſe two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being maſter of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms, acknowledged by an authentic act, the diviſion of the three brothers, and the ſucceſſion entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes poſſeſſion of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to revenge the affront, but ſends his ſon Lewis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preſerve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewiſe procures a regulation at Rome in an aſſembly of biſhops, importing that no pope ſhall be conſecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Mean while, Lewis in Germany, is obliged to fight, ſometimes with the Huns, ſometimes with the Normans, and ſometimes with the Bo-

hemians. Theſe Bohemians, together with the Sileſians and Moravians, were idolatrous barbarians who made incurſions upon the Chriſtian barbarians with various ſucceſs.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles *the bald* have ſtill more to ſuffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raiſed in favour of a ſon of that unfortunate Pepin king of Aquitaine, who had been ſtripped by his father Lewis *the weak*. Several tyrants made themſelves maſters of ſeveral towns. Small battles were every where fought, and in theſe there was always a number of monks, abbots and biſhops, ſlain ſword in hand. Hugues that ſon of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouſe, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two biſhops are there made priſoners. The Normans ravage the coaſts of France. Charles *the bald* makes no other oppoſition to them, but an obligation to pay them fourteen thouſand ſilver marks, which was a ſure way of inviting them to return.

847.

The emperor Lotharius, no leſs unfortunate, cedes Frieſland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal cuſtom of receiving enemies for vaſſals, paves the way for the ſettlement of thoſe pirates of Normandy *.

848.

While the Normans ravaged the coaſts of France, the Saracens entered Italy; make them-

* Which pirates in a little time became a flouriſhing and formidable people.

ſelves

ſelves maſters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV. in ſuch a dangerous conjuncture aſſuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius ſeemed to abandon, ſhews himſelf worthy in defending Rome to command as ſovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church, in repairing the walls, building towers, and ſtretching chains acroſs the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaietta to come and defend the coaſt of Oſtia, without neglecting the wiſe precaution of taking hoſtages from them; well knowing that thoſe who are powerful enough to ſuccour us, have alſo the power to do us harm. He in perſon viſited all the poſts, and received the Saracens at their deſcent, not in the equipage of a warriour, like Goſlin biſhop of Paris, upon a ſtill more preſſing occaſion; but as a pontif who exhorted a Chriſtian people, and a king who watched over the ſafety of his ſubjects. In him the courage of the firſt ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of Rome, which is ſometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated, and the priſoners employed in building a new wall round St. Peter's, and in aggrandiſing the city which they came to deſtroy.

Lotharius aſſociates his ſon Lewis in his feeble empire. The Muſſulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849.

New diſcord among the brothers, and among the biſhops and noblemen, which renders the people ſtill more unhappy. Some Franc, and German biſhops declare the emperor Lotharius has forfeited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as biſhops, or Germans and Francs, ſeeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitleſs outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850. 851. 852.

A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is harraſſed by the new incurſions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire.

In the midſt of theſe horrours, the miſſionary Anſcharius biſhop of Hamburgh perſuades one Eric, chief, or duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Chriſtian religion in his dominions. He obtains the ſame permiſſion in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheleſs, make incurſions upon the Chriſtians.

853. 854.

Amidſt theſe deſolations of France and Germany, the weakneſs of Italy, threatened by the Muſſulmans, the miſgovernment of Lewis of Italy, ſon of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and deſpiſed in Rome, the emperor of Conſtantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael ſtill more debauched and deſpiſed than Lewis of Italy; and all theſe circumſtances had no other effect than that of increaſing the power of the pope.

855.

The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father Lewis *the weak* a monk, now makes him-

ſelf a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and ſuperſtition. He takes the habit in the abbey of Prum, and on the 18th of September dies like a ſimpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

LEWIS II.

FOURTH EMPEROR.

856.

AFTER the death of this third emperor of the Weſt, new kingdoms aroſe in Europe. Lewis of Italy, his eldeſt ſon, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of emperor of the Weſt. The ſecond ſon called Lotharius after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia afterwards called Lorrain, extended from Geneva to Straſbourg and Utrecht. The third, whoſe name was Charles, poſſeſſed Savoy, Dauphiny with part of Lionnois, Provence and Languedoc. Theſe dominions compoſed the kingdom of Arles from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embelliſhed by the Romans, but then ſmall and poor like all the other towns of this ſide of the Alps. In the flouriſhing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæſars, the Romans aggrandiſed and decorated the towns which they had ſubdued; but when left to themſelves or to the barbarians, all of them went to wreck, and by their ruins atteſted the ſuperiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon*, ſoon after made himſelf king of Britany, part of which was ſtill pagan; but all theſe kingdoms fell almoſt as faſt as they were raiſed.

857.

Lewis the Germanic begins by taking Alſace from the new king of Lorrain. He beſtows privileges upon Straſbourg, already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other ſide of the Rhine. The Normans deſolate France. Lewis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother, inſtead of aſſiſting him againſt the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The biſhops of France in vain excommunicate him: he reſolves to make himſelf maſter of France. The remains of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany, obliges him to come and defend his own dominions.

From 858 to 865.

Lewis II. the phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no ſhare in all theſe troubles, leaves the popes to ſtrengthen their own power, and dares not reſide at Rome.

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* This ruffian murdered his own couſin, Hanſpogus duke of Brittany, at the altar; uſurped his dukedom, which he found means to raiſe into a kingdom, by the permiſſion of Charles the Bald, to whom he did good ſervice. But afterwards, quarrelling with his clergy, they excited a rebellion againſt him, and he fled to the altar for protection, where he found it not. Perceiving his death inevitable, he came forth, and was murdered by the inſurgents. The people of Brittany, in the ſequel, adored him as a ſaint.

Charles

Charles the Bald of France and Lewis the Germanic make peace, becauſe they could no longer make war. The moſt memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius king of Lorrain: that prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accuſed of adultery, and confeſſes the crime. He marries his miſtreſs called Valdrade, who had been formerly promiſed to him as a wife: he procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in preſence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Coapelle, and exerciſes an authority hitherto unknown: he excommunicates and depoſes ſome biſhops who eſpouſe the party of the king of Lorrain; and, finally, that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves, and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtleſs to be wiſhed, that there was a ſacred tribunal to apprize ſovereigns of their duty, and make them bluſh for their violences. But there does not ſeem to be any reaſon for a monarch's ſubmitting the ſecrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a ſtranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained cuſtoms more conformable to nature, and more favourable for the domeſtic peace of families, in conſidering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering thoſe amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public,

In thoſe times the deſcendants of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Young Pepin, great grandſon of Charlemagne, ſon of the depoſed Pepin king of Acquittaine, who died without dominions, having for ſome time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Chriſtian religion, and finiſhes his carreer in being taken and ſhut up in a convent, where he dies.

866.

It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the ſchiſm which ſtill continues between the Greek and Roman Churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miſerable to mind thoſe diſputes, which are ſo intereſting, during the leiſure of peace.

Charles king of Arles dies without iſſue. The emperor Lewis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a deſtiny fixed to the houſe of Charlemagne, that the children ſhould take arms againſt their fathers. Lewis the Germanic had two ſons. Lewis, the younger, diſſatisfied with his portion, endeavours to dethrone him: his rebellion produces no other conſequence than that of his aſking pardon.

867. 868.

Lewis king of Germany defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his ſons. Theſe are not victories which augment a ſtate and help it to flouriſh. This was nothing but repelling ſavages to their foreſts and mountains.

869. The

869.

The excommunicated king of Lorrain goes to viſit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promiſes to leave off living with his miſtreſs, and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles the Bald ſeizes Lorrain, and even Alſace, in deſpite of the right of the baſtard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Lewis the Germanic had taken Alſace from Lotharius, but it was reſtored: Charles the Bald took, but did not reſtore it.

870.

Lewis of Germany wants to have Lorrain; Lewis of Italy, the emperor, has the ſame inclination, and engages pope Adrian in his intereſt. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Lewis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorrain in two equal parts. The Weſtern falls to the king of France, and the Eaſtern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make uſe of theſe arms; but they were deſpiſed: the emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871.

This emperor of Italy could ſcarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the ſame time vaſſal of the empires of the Eaſt and Weſt, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The emperor Lewis ventures to go to Beneventum, and is put in priſon by the duke; the very ſame adventure that afterwards happened to Lewis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

872. 873.

Pope John VIII. who ſucceeded Adrian II. ſeeing the precarious ſituation of the emperor's health, privately promiſes the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and ſells that promiſe for a good price. This is the ſame John VIII. who paid ſuch reſpect to the patriarch Photius, ſuffering him to be named before himſelf in a council at Conſtantinople.

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes, continue to harraſs Germany; and that vaſt extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874.

France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had a ſon called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be ſhaved in his infancy, and created a deacon againſt his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle Lewis of Germany, where he levies troops; but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new faſhion.

875.

The emperor Lewis II. dies at Milan. His brother Charles the Bald, king of France, paſſes the Alps, ſecures the paſſes againſt his brother Lewis of Germany, haſtens to Rome, laviſhes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salique law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire muſt have belonged to the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Lewis the Germanic; but a number of troops, expedition, condeſcenſion, and a ſum of money, conſtituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debaſed his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown

as ſovereign; Charles the Bald received it as a vaſſal, acknowledging that he held every thing of the pope, leaving to the ſucceſſors of that pontif the power of beſtowing the empire, and promiſing to have always near him a vicar of the holy ſee, to determine all eccleſiaſtical affairs of conſequence. The archbiſhop of Sens was in that quality, primate of Gaul and Germany; a title become altogether uſeleſs.

Aſſuredly the popes had reaſon to believe themſelves veſted with the right of beſtowing the empire, and even of ſelling it, ſeeing they found people to aſk and to purchaſe it of their hands, and ſeeing Charlemagne himſelf had received the title of emperor from pope Leo III. But we have likewiſe reaſon to ſay, that Leo III. in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his maſter; and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity, it was the privilege of his ſucceſſors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occaſion, cuſtom, preſcription, and power, are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

CHARLES cauſes himſelf to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the biſhops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you (as it is ſaid in that act) with unanimous conſent, ſeeing you have been raiſed to the imperial throne by the interceſſion of the apoſtles St, Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, ſovereign pontif." &c.

876.

Lewis of Germany falls upon France, in order to revenge himſelf upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire: but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The cuſtom (which leads men by the noſe) at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in ſharing them among their children. Accordingly Lewis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three ſons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Lewis, Friefland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Groſs, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorrain, with Suabia and the neighbouring countries, at that time called Germany.

877.

This diviſion renders the emperor Charles the Bald more powerful; and he is reſolved to ſeize that half of Lorrain which is not in his poſſeſſion. Here follows an example of the exceſſive ſuperſtition at that time joined to rapaciouſneſs and deceit. Lewis of Germany ſends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorrain of right belongs to him. Ten of theſe thirty confeſſors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a cauldron of boiling water without being ſcalded; the ſame number carry each a red hot iron the ſpace of nine feet without being burnt; and the laſt ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and ſink to the bottom; a ſure proof of a righteous cauſe; for water expels thoſe who are perjured, to the ſurface.

Hiſtory is ſo full of thoſe proofs, that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Cuſtom, which made them common, rendered alſo thoſe arts common which make the ſkin for ſome time inſenſible to the action of fire, ſuch as oil of vitriol, and other corroſives *. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle, had they floated on the ſurface.

Lewis would not confine himſelf to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy ‡, whither he was purſued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Muſſulmans, who were ſtill cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, that king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorrain, purſues his uncle the Bald into Italy, who finds himſelf at one time hard beſet by his nephew, by the Mahometans,

* They are ſaid to have beſmeared their hands with a preparation of liquid ſtorax, which defended them againſt the action of the fire; but, in all probability, the deception lay in the water and the iron; the firſt did not boil, and the other was not red hot.

‡ From what M. de Voltaire ſays here and a little after, one would imagine Charles the Bald fled to Italy immediately after the battle; but this was not the caſe. He firſt retired into France, in order to oppoſe the Normans, who had entered the Seine with a powerful fleet; then he fell dangerouſly ill, and was ſcarce recovered when the pope preſſed him to march to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time he convened an aſſembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert meaſures for the defence of his dominions, declared his only ſon Lewis regent of the kingdom, and appointed a council to aſſiſt him to govern the ſtate in his father's abſence.

and

and the intrigues of the Pope; and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Hiſtorians ſay he was poiſoned by his phyſician, a Jew, whoſe name was Sedecias. Certain it is, the Chriſtian part of Europe was then ſo ignorant, that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their phyſicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great foedal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many poſſeſſors of great military offices, duchies, marquiſates, and countſhips, attempted to make theſe honours hereditary.

LEWIS III. OR THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878.

POPE John VIII. who thinks he had a right to nominate an emperor, can ſcarcely ſupport himſelf in Rome. He promiſes the empire to Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, ſon of the Bald. He promiſes it to Carloman of Bavaria; and engages himſelf to one Lambert duke of Spoleto, a vaſſal of the empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto finding himſelf deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuſcany, enters Rome, ſeizes his holineſs; but is afterwards obliged to releaſe him. One Boſon, duke of Arles, likewiſe pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conqueſt of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thouſand marks of ſilver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

Lewis the Stammerer dies at Compeigne on the 10th of April. He is put in the liſt of emperors, only becauſe he was ſon of a prince who ſwayed the imperial ſceptre.

CHARLES III. OR THE GROSS.

SEVENTH EMPEROR.

897.

THE buſineſs was to make an emperor and a king of France. Lewis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Lewis of Germany. He took no more than the Weſtern part of Lorrain, which had been the ſhare of Charles the Bald. Lewis and Carloman, the two ſons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimouſly acknowledged as legitimate children; but Boſon cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Groſs, king of the country ſtill called Germany, preſſes the pope to crown him emperor. The pope anſwers that he will beſtow the imperial crown upon him who ſhall firſt come to his aſſiſtance againſt the Chriſtians and Mahometans.

880.

Charles the Groſs, king of Germany, Lewis king of Bavaria and Lorrain, unite with the king of France againſt Boſon the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They beſiege Vienne

Vienne in Dauphiny; but Charles the Groſs marches from Vienne to Rome.

881.

Charles is crowned and conſecrated emperor by pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Chriſtmas day.

882.

His brother Lewis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called Eaſtern France, and the two Lorrains, dies on the 20th of January in that ſame year, without iſſue. The emperor Charles the Groſs was natural heir of his dominions; but the Normans preſented themſelves in order to ſhare in them. Theſe frequent troubles of the North render the imperial power very problematic in Rome, where antient liberty ſtill thruſts out new roots: It was not known who ſhould reign in that ancient capital of Europe, whether it ſhould be the people, the biſhop, or an emperor who was a ſtranger.

The pope ſends him a branch of palm, according to cuſtom; but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la Chapelle, and deſtroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Groſs can find no other way of being delivered from them, than that of ſeizing all the plate belonging to the churches, and giving them 4160 marks of ſilver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

883.

The empire was become ſo weak, that pope Martin II. who ſucceeded John VIII. begins with making a ſolemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders

in

in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zwentibold laid waſte Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him; but he acknowledged him as prince and vaſſal of the empire.

884

Great part of Italy is ſtill laid waſte by the duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which laſt plunder the rich abbey of Monte Caſſini, and carry off all its treaſure; but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them.

Charles the Groſs marches into Italy to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders. But ſcarce is he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repaſſes the Alps in order to claim the ſucceſſion.

885.

Behold then Charles the Groſs, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which, however, he was not ſtrong enough to bear.

A baſtard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a ſcheme for having Lorrain as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Frieſland had been ceded, and who marries his ſiſter; and he calls other Normans to his aſſiſtance.

The emperor ſtifled this conſpiracy. A count of Saxony called Henry, and an archbiſhop of Cologne, undertake to aſſaſſinate this Norman duke of Frieſland in a conferenee, The abbot Hugues is apprehended in Lorrain on the ſame

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pretext, and the cuſtom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. Theſe, finding themſelves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, paſs the Somme and the Oiſe without reſiſtance, take and burn Pontoſe, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now ſo immenſe, was then neither large, ſtrong, nor populous. The tower of the great chatelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared: they were obliged to finiſh it in a hurry with wood; ſo that the lower part was of ſtone, and the upper of carpenter's work,

The Pariſians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whoſe valour afterwards raiſed him to the throne of France, put the town in ſuch order, as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and ſerved them inſtead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi chief of the Normans, carried on the ſiege with obſtinate fury, though not deſtitute of art. The Normans uſed the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three aſſaults, which the Pariſians ſuſtained wirh unſhaken courage: they had at their head not only count Eudes, but alſo their biſhop Goſlin, who every day, after having beſtowed his benediction, poſted himſelf at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his belt, and fought in ſight of the croſs, which he planted on the rampart. This biſhop ſeems to have had at leaſt as much authority in the city as count Eudes, ſeeing it was

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to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, firſt addreſſed himſelf for permiſſion to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the ſiege, leaving his memory reſpected and regretted; for tho' he armed thoſe hands which his religion reſerved ſolely for the miniſtry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the juſteſt of all cauſes; namely, neceſſary ſelf-preſervation, which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and againſt Chriſtians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to ſome men, it would have been better to raiſe that prelate to heaven who fought and died for his country, than a great many obſcure men, whoſe virtue, if they had any, was uſeleſs to the world.

886.

The Normans kept Paris beſieged a whole year and a half. The Pariſians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long ſiege, and ſtill were unſhaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Groſs, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Mont-Martre *; but he durſt not attack the Normans: he came only to buy another ſhameful truce. Thoſe Barbarians quit Paris to go and beſiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to aſſemble thoſe diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was ſo unworthy.

The Normans continue their devaſtations; but, although enemies of the Chriſtian name,

* In the neighbourhood of Paris.

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it never came into their minds to force any perſon whatever to renounce Chriſtianity. They reſembled the Francs, the Goths, the Alains, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in queſt of new ſettlements, far from impoſing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great eaſe the religion of the vanquiſhed. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the caliphs, ſubmitted themſelves to the Mahometan religion.

887.

There was nothing wanting to Charles the Groſs, but to be unhappy in his family: contemned in the empire, he was ſaid to be likewiſe deſpiſed by his empreſs Richarda. She was accuſed of infidelity; and he repudiated her, although ſhe offered to juſtify herſelf by the judgment of God. He ſent her to the abbey of Andelau, which ſhe herſelf had founded, in Alſace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon (contrary to the cuſtom of the times) to adopt the ſon of his enemy Boſon, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is ſaid to have been affected, and certainly it was; ſeeing, that, although he poſſeſſed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himſelf to ſuch a paſs as to loſe all without making any reſiſtance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888.

The depoſition of Charles the Groſs is a ſpectacle which merits great attention. Was he depoſed by thoſe who had elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen, aſſembled in a village called Tribur, diſpoſe of the Roman empire and the king-

kingdom of France? No, ſure; but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief who did not deſerve to reign. They therefore abandoned the grandſon of Charlemagne for a baſtard of Carloman, ſon of Lewis the Germaine: this baſtard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Groſs dies deſtitute near Conſtance, Jan. 8, in the year 888.

The fate of Italy, France, and ſo many other ſtates, was then uncertain.

The right of ſucceſſion was every where little regarded. Charles the Groſs himſelf had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer; and in contempt of the rights of that ſame ſon, the French noblemen choſe for their king Eudes count of Paris.

One Rodolphus, ſon of another count of Paris, makes himſelf king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This ſon of Boſon king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Groſs, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheleſs, they were deſirous of ſeizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne ſtill rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been beſtowed at Rome. One Gui duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, diſputed the name and rank of the Cæſars. Gui of Spoleto cauſed him to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius aſſumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a ſingularity worthy of the confuſion of thoſe times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy in Champagne.

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It was in the midſt of theſe troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themſelves: every man fortified his own caſtle: great part of the towns are altogether without government: troops of banditti ſcour the country from one end of Europe to the other; and chivalry is eſtabliſhed to reſtrain theſe robbers, and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

889.

Several biſhops of France, and the archbiſhop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the baſtard Arnold, becauſe he was deſcended from Charlemagne; and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female ſide.

Eudes king of France goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms; cedes to him part of Lorrain, which was already in Arnold's poſſeſſion; promiſes to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and ſceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. Arnold reſtores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This ſubmiſſion proves that the kings ſtill conſidered themſelves as vaſſals of the Roman empire. It likewiſe proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890. 891.

The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with *Slaves* called Abodrites, inhabiting the diſtricts towards the Baltick, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the North of Germany: the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the *Slaves*, deſolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold: the Huns

make

make incurſions; the Normans renew their ravages; yet no conqueſt is eſtabliſhed by ſo many invaſions. Theſe, though tranſient devaſtations, leave Germany in a very poor and miſerable condition.

At length he in perſon defeats the Normans near Louvain; and Germany reſpires. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the Eaſt. A patrician of Conſtantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with ſome troops, and threatens Rome: but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themſelves againſt the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the antient capital of the empire.

We have ſeen what reaſon Eudes king of France had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his buſineſs to be well with all the world. The noblemen and biſhops of France reſtore the crown to Charles the Simple, poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

893.

As in theſe diviſions king Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the diet of Worms. Arnold takes no ſtep in his favour; but leaves him to diſpute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to diſpute the name of emperor with Gui of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the Pope.

894.

He beſieges Pavia, in which was that emperor of Spoleto, who betakes himſelf to flight. He ſecures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himſelf;

himſelf; but even at that time we ſee how difficult it was for the emperors to make themſelves maſters of Rome. Arnold, inſtead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

895.

Arnold, after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the biſhops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure freſh troops and money, and that his ſon Zentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896.

Then he returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer deſire an emperor; but they are incapable of defending themſelves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini from the name of that famous pontif Leo IV. who had ſurrounded it with walls, and forces the palace. The reſt of the city, on the other ſide of the Tiber, ſurrenders; and pope Formoſa conſecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The ſenators (for there was ſtill a ſenate) next day take the oath of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath: "I ſwear I will be faithful to the emperor, ſaving my fidelity to the Pope."

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ARNOLD.

EIGHTH EMPEROR.

896.

A WOMAN of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor Goi of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome againſt Arnold, defends herſelf ſtill againſt him. He

He beſieges her in the city of Fermo. Authors pretend that this heroine ſent him a poiſoned beverage, in order to ſoften his diſpoſition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is inconteſtable that he raiſed the ſiege; that he was ſick; that he repaſſed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confuſion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had loſt all his authority in his abſence.

897, 898, 896.

Germany was then in the ſame anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themſelves in Lorrain, Alſace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the biſhop and abbots ſeize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who ſwear fealty to them, and have lands for their ſervice, and theſe ſometimes protect and ſometimes plunder them *. They were formerly the advocates of the monaſteries; and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The biſhops and abbots of Italy were never on the ſame footing: firſt, becauſe the Italian noblemen had more addreſs, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, laſtly, becauſe the church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not ſuffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the ſpirit of chivalry ſpreads over all the Weſt. There is hardly any ſuit

* The ſame ſort of adventurers who were afterwards hired in Italy, under the name of *Condottieri*.

decided but by champions; the prieſts bleſs their arms; and they are always obliged to ſwear, before they engage, that their arms are not inchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold the emperor, deſtitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poiſon, others of the louſy diſeaſe; but the louſy diſeaſe is a chimera *, and ſo is often the notion of poiſon.

900.

Confuſion increaſes. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midſt of factions. That ſon of Boſon made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the ſame intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then diſpoſed of every thing; they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Lewis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany: to this he joins Lorrain after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little ſtronger for the acquiſition.

From 901 to 907.

The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

One Moimir, who had made himſelf duke of Moravia and a Chriſtian, goes to Rome to demand biſhops.

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* We muſt beg our author's pardon; the *morbus pediculoſus* is unhappily no chimera. It proceeds from a certain depravity of the juices, which peculiarly adapt them for the generation of this vermin.

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One Adelbert, marquis of Tuſcany, famous for his wife Theodora, is deſpotic in Rome. Berengarius ſtrengthens himſelf in Lombardy; makes an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war upon the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him priſoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The Pope, after having conſecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and conſecrates another emperor, called Lambert, ſon of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who aſſumes the title of Invincible and always Auguſt.

908, 909, 910, 911, 912.

Mean while Lewis IV. king of Germany, takes alſo the title of emperor: ſeveral authors give him the title; but Sigebert ſays, on account of the evils which in his time harraſſed Italy, he did not deſerve the imperial benediction; the true reaſon is, that he was not powerful enough to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged emperor: he had no ſhare in the troubles which harraſſed Italy in his time.

LEWIS IV.

NINTH EMPEROR.

IN the reign of this ſtrange emperor, Germany undergoes the moſt diſmal deſolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Lewis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions ariſe, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more miſchief than the Huns.

Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a ſhare of the pillage. The emperor Lewis flies to Ratiſbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.

CONRAD I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912.

THE German nobles aſſemble at Worms to elect a king. Theſe were ſuch as being the moſt intereſted in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raiſe themſelves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almoſt every-where; witneſs thoſe of Arnold in Germany, of Gui of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Arragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugues Capet in France, and of the emperors of Conſtantinople; for ſo many vaſſals and ſo many princes were deſirous of having the right to chooſe a chief, and the hope of being choſen.

It is pretended that Otho duke of the new Saxony, was choſen by the diet, but that finding himſelf too old he himſelf propoſed Conrad, duke of Franconia, though he was his own enemy, becauſe he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the ſpirit of thoſe almoſt ſavage times. We find ambition, deceit, and courage in this as in all ages; but

but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity *.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans only accuſtomed to ſee emperors in their kings ſince Charlemagne, gave him, it is ſaid, that title.

From 913 to 919.

The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the ſtate of Germany. He has wars with his vaſſals, and particularly with the ſon of that duke of Saxony to whom he is ſaid to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians ſtill make war upon Germany, and he is wholly ingroſſed in repulſing them. During this period the French make themſelves maſters of Lorrain. If Charles had made that conqueſt, he would not have deſerved the name of Simple; but he had miniſters and generals of another ſtamp. He creates a duke of Lorrain.

The biſhops of Germany confirm themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919, in the little town of Weilbourg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry duke of Saxony for his ſucceſſor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he ſhould think he had a right to chooſe a ſucceſſor, or that he would have choſen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known it Italy, during his reign. Lombardy

* This is being too ſevere on human nature. Charlemagne, and others of that age, exhibited many proofs of magnanimity, which is not at all inconſiſtent with ſavage ferocity; but the milder virtues of humanity were not unfolded 'till long after this period.

became a prey to diviſions, Rome to the moſt horrible ſcandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devaſtations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the proſtitute Theodora at Rome * raiſed to the papal chair John X. who was as great a proſtitute as herſelf.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920.

IT may be of conſequence to obſerve, that in this time of anarchy, ſeveral hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchaſed theſe rights of their lords, others had ſupported them ſword in hand. The deputies of theſe towns concur with the biſhops and noblemen, in order to chooſe an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I. ſurnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three eſtates. Nothing is more natural than that all thoſe who are concerned in being well governed ſhould concur in eſtabliſhing the government.

From 921 to 930.

One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant Biſhopricks.

* This woman was ſo powerful, by means of the marquis of Tuſcany, that ſhe kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and raiſed John, who was her gallant, to the papacy. —Her daughter Maroſia equalled her mother in beauty, libertiniſm, and influence.

The

The emperor Henry has a ſhort war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing biſhops in his own dukedom.

Theſe years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is intereſted. The moſt important is the affair of Lorrain. It had been ſtill undecided whether it ſhould belong to Germony or France.

Henry the Fowler ſubdues all high and low Lorrain in the year 925, and wreſts it from the hands of duke Giſilbert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards reſtores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorrain was no other than a diſmembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liege, afterwards diſputed by the biſhop of Liege, with the lands between Metz and Franche Comté, diſputed alſo by the biſhop of Metz. This country in the ſequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards ſeparated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more intereſting than the events and revolutions with which hiſtory is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated from the fœdal anarchy. Vaſſals and under vaſſals conſent to furniſh ſoldiers and corn for their ſubſiſtence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians and Normans had laid waſte. He builds Brandenbourg, Miſnia, and Sleſwick, where he ſettles marquiſes to guard the marches of Germany. He re-eſtabliſhes the ruined abbeys of Herford and Corbie; and plans ſeveral cities, ſuch as Gotha, Herford, and Goſlar.

The

The ancient Saxons, *Slaves*, Abodrites, and their neighbours the Vandals are repulſed. His predeceſſor Conrad had conſented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that diſgrace.

From 930 to 936.

It is ſaid, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a puniſhment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for the length of a league. This coarſe cuſtom, worthy of thoſe times, does not at all detract from the greatneſs of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more miſchief than the tribute would have coſt; but at length they are repulſed and defeated.

Then he cauſes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in ſome provinces with which theſe towns are garriſoned He exerciſes the nobility in juſts and a kind of tournaments: in one of theſe near a thouſand gentlemen are ſaid to have entered the liſts.

Theſe tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *Batagliole*.

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he reſolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predeceſſors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and ſcandalous practices of Rome were increaſed. Maroſia, daughter of Theodora had raiſed to St. Peter's chair the young John XI. produced by her adultery with pope

pope Sergius III. and governed the church in the name of her ſon. Of all the tyrants which overwhelmed Italy the Germans were moſt hated at Rome.

Henry the Fowler, reckoning upon his forces, thought to have made his advantage of thoſe troubles; but he died upon the road in Thuringia in the year 936. The only reaſon for calling him emperor, is becauſe he was deſirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the cuſtom to give him that appellation.

OTHO I. ſurnamed THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

936.

AT length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, biſhops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen aſſembled at Aix-la Chapelle, elect Otho, ſon of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps the great noblemen having gained an acquiſition of power under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbiſhop of Mentz ſignifies this election to the people, conſecrates the new emperor, and ſets the crown upon his head. It may be obſerved, that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorrain, ſerve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of ſteward, and the duke of Suabia as cup-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midſt of the ruins of Aix-la-Chapelle,

which had been burnt by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the feſtival. They advance to Weſtphalia, but are repulſed.

937.

Bohemia was then intirely barbarous, and but one half Chriſtian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as ſoon as poſſible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there eſtabliſhes Chriſtianity.

938, 939, 940.

Otho endeavours to make himſelf deſpotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themſelves independent. This great quarrel, ſometimes open, ſometimes concealed, ſtill ſubſiſts in the minds of men, after a ſeries of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This ſtruggle between royal power, which always ſeeks increaſe, and liberty, which will not yield, hath for a long time agitated all the Chriſtian part of Europe, It ſubſiſted in Spain as long as the Chriſtians had to fight with the Moors, after which the ſovereign authority got uppermoſt. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. This that has at length eſtabliſhed in England the mixed government to which ſhe owes her greatneſs; and this that hath cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the ſlavery of the people. The ſame ſpirit hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republicks of Swiſſerland and Holland; and the ſame cauſe hath every where produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refuſing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to ſome allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of Count Palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Francs.

He beſtows the ſame dignity upon a duke of Franconia. Theſe palatines are at firſt ſupreme judges. They judge in the laſt appeal in the name of the emperor. This ſupreme reſource of juſtice is, next to an army, the greateſt ſupport of ſovereignty.

Otho diſpoſes at pleaſure of dignities and lands. The firſt marquis of Brandenburg dying without iſſue, he gives the marquiſate to one count Gerard, who was not related to the defunct *.

The more Otho affects abſolute power, the more he is oppoſed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the cuſtom of having reſcourſe to France to ſupport the feodal government in Germany againſt the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorrain and the prince of Brunſwick addreſs themſelves to Lewis Ultramarine, king of France, who enters Lorrain and Alſace and joines the allies.

* At the diet at Arenſberg, held about this time, it was debated whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were ſtill alive; as the point could not be determined any other way, it was referred to the combat trial: accordingly, an equal number of combatants being choſen on each ſide, entered the liſts; and the champions of the children, having obtained the victory, the proceſs was determined in their favour.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Briſach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain, who are ſlain in battle.

He deprives the houſe of Franconia of the title of Palatine; ſettles it upon the houſe of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and caſtles. Thus was formed the preſent palatinate of the Rhine.

941.

As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their aſſiſtance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Otho. He purſues Lewis Ultramarine through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conſpiracies.

942, 943, 944.

The deſpotiſm of Otho alienates the minds of men to ſuch a degree, that his own brother Henry, duke of one part of Lorrain, had united with ſeveral noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, ſtifles the conſpiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be intitled to that favour.

He augments the privileges of biſhops and abbots, in order to oppoſe them to the noblemen. He beſtows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the biſhop of Triers. He gives the duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conſpired againſt him, and leaves the natural heirs quite deſtitute. This is the greateſt proof of his abſolute power.

945. 949.

At that time the race of Charlemagne, which ſtill reigned in France, was reduced to the loweſt ſtate of degradation. They had in 912 ceded

Neuſtria

Neuſtria properly ſo called to the Normans, and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the iſle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, ſon-in-law by his firſt marriage to Edward I. king of England *, and brother-in-law of Otho by his ſecond marriage, was one of the moſt powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the moſt inconſiderable. This Hugues had recalled Lewis Ultramarine to crown and ſerve him, and was called Hugues or Hugh the Great, becauſe he had made himſelf powerful at the expence of his maſter,

He was allied with the Normans who had made the unfortunate Ultramarine priſoner. That king, releaſed from captivity, was left almoſt without towns or territory. He was likewiſe brother-in-law of Otho, whoſe ſiſter he had married. He demands his protection, in conſequence of ceding all his rights over Lorrain.

Otho marches to the neighbourhood of Paris, beſieges Rouen, but being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitleſs expedition.

947, 948.

Otho being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, cauſes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Triers, where the pope's legate pronounces the ſentence at the deſire of

* This Edward muſt not be confounded with *Long Shanks*, commonly called Edward I. He was of the Saxon race, and ſon of the renowned Alfred, a prince not unworthy of ſuch a father.

Otho

Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheleſs Hugh continues maſter in France.

There was, we have ſeen, a margrave at Sleſwick, in the Cimbrique Cherſoneſus, to check the incurſions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho haſtens thither in perſon, retakes the town, ſecures the frontiers; and makes peace with Denmark on condition that Chriſtianity ſhould be preached in that country.

949.

From thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Lewis Ultramarine, who had no army, demanded this council of pope Agapetus; a poor reſource againſt Hugh the Great.

There the German biſhops and Marini the pope's legate appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Lewis of France as a ſuppliant. Lewis demands juſtice, and ſays: "I have been acknowledged king by the ſuffrages of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed ſome crime which merits the treatment I ſuffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council, according to Otho's order; or I will maintain my innocence in ſingle combat."

This miſerable addreſs proves the cuſtom of duels; the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood ſeemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is ſummoned to this vain council; though nobody ſuppoſed he would appear.

950.

Otho gives the inveſtiture of Suabia, Augſburg, Conſtance, and Wirtenberg to his ſon Ludolphus, "ſaving the rights of the biſhops."

951. Otho

951.

Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the duke Bol, who is called Boleſlaus. The word *Slas* among theſe people ſignified chief. From hence they were at firſt called *Slaves*, which name in the ſequel fell to thoſe whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vaſſalage of Bohemia, and there eſtabliſhes the Chriſtian religion. All beyond was ſtill pagan, except ſome marches of Germany. From that time he reſolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne; and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide *, ſiſter of a petty king of transjurane Burgundy, widow of the king or uſurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppreſſed by another uſurper Berengarius II. who beſieges her in Canoſſa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches, delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princeſs. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide: but it required both time and diligence to ſubdue the reſt of the kingdom, and eſpecially Rome, which would by no means ſubmit to him.

952.

He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own ſon-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorrain; and, what was very common in thoſe times, goes to hold a council at Augſburg inſtead of purſuing his conqueſts. There were Italian biſhops at that council: perhaps he had no other view in this, but to diſpoſe people to receive him in Italy.

953.

His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have ſecured him in the poſſeſſion of Italy,

* She is generally denominated *Alix*.

was

was like to have made him loſe it in a very little time.

His ſon Ludolphus, to whom he had given ſo many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a maſter; and his ſon-in-law Conrad, to whom he had given Lorrain, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conſpire againſt him; an archbiſhop of Mentz, and a biſhop of Augſ. burg join theſe confederates; he marches againſt his ſon, and, inſtead of making himſelf emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954.

His unnatural ſon calls the Hungarians to his aſſiſtance; and it coſts him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Cologne, whether they had advanced.

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an eccleſiaſtic, whom he procures to be elected archbiſhop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorrain.

955.

The arms of Otho prevail. His ſons and their adherants aſk pardon; the archbiſhop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's ſon deviates from it again: at length he comes barefoot and throws himſelf at his father's feet. The Hungarians, whom he called in, far from following his example in aſking forgiveneſs, lay waſte the cosntry. Otho gives them battle, and defeats them at Augſburg: he ſeems to have been ſtrong enough to defeat, but not to purſue and deſtroy them; although his army

was

was compoſed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the ſon of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is Otho II.

From 956 to 960.

The deſigns upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being diſcloſed. The *Slaves* and other Barbarians deluge the North of Germany, as yet but very ill ſecured in ſpite of all the cares of Otho. Inconſiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorrain, continue ſtill to employ his arms.

Ludolphus, that ſon of Otho who was ſent into Italy againſt Berengarius, dies in that country, either of the plague or of poiſon.

Berengarius was then abſolute maſter of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not at Rome. But he neceſſarily had a thouſand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A ſon of Maroſia, called Octavian Sporco, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII. in memory of his uncle John XI. This is the firſt pope who changed his name at his acceſſion to the pontificate. He was not even in orders when his family made him pontif. He was a young man who lived like a prince, and was a lover of arms and pleaſure.

It is ſurpriſing, that, under ſo many ſcandalous popes, the Roman church loſt neither her prerogatives nor pretenſions; but at that time almoſt all the other churches were governed in this manner. The biſhops having always ſomething to aſk of Rome, either orders or favours, did

did not abandon their intereſt for a few ſcandalous practices more than uſual; and it was their intereſt to be always united to the Roman church, becauſe that union made them more reſpected by the people, and more conſiderable in the eyes of the ſovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then deſpiſe the popes; but they revered the papacy the more, as they aſpired to that exalted ſtation: finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was ſacred even when the perſon was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their aſſiſtance: they wanted (ſays Luitprand, a cotemporary writer) to have two maſters, that they might not have one in reality. This is one of the principal cauſes of the long miſeries of Italy.

960.

Otho, before he ſets out for Italy, takes care to have his ſon Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the ſeventh year of his age, elected king of Germany. A new proof that the right of ſucceſſion did not exiſt. He takes the precaution of cauſing him to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbiſhops of Cologn, Mentz and Triers, aſſembled for that purpoſe. The archbiſhop of Cologn performs the function firſt; this was Bruno, the brother of Otho.

961.

He paſſes the Alps of the Tirol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the firſt occupier; and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monſa.

962.

While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome; and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms

firms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter; and ordains that there ſhall be always commiſſaries of the emperor at Rome.

This inſtrument, written in letters of gold, ſubſcribed by ſeven biſhops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and ſeveral Italian prelates, is ſtill kept in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The date is of the 13th of February, in the year 962. Lotharius king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are ſaid to have been preſent at this coronation. Theſe kings of France were indeed ſo weak, that they might have ſerved as ornaments at the conſecration of an emperor; but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the ſignatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany, was to erect Magdeburg into an archbiſhop's ſee, and Merſburg into a biſhoprick, for the converſion of the Slaves, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Sileſia, &c.

Scarce had the pope given himſelf a maſter, when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that ſame Berengarius who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coaſt of Provence, and ſolicits the Hungarians to enter Germany; this was the ſtep he ought to have taken before.

963.

The emperor Otho having finiſhed the conqueſt of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He aſſembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himſelf. He is accuſed in full council in the church of

of St. Peter of having committed fornication with ſeveral women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the biſhoprick of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having ſold ordinations and benefices; of having put out the eyes of his godfather; of having firſt caſtrated, and then put to death a cardinal; and laſtly of not believing in Jeſus Chriſt, and of having invoked the devil; two articles that ſeem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but ſeven and twenty, was ſaid to be depoſed for his inceſts and ſcandalous practices; but the true reaſon was his having endeavoured, like all the Romans, to deſtroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII. is elected in his room. Otho was not able to ſecure the perſon of John XII. or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964.

The new pope Leo VIII. if we may believe the diſcourſe of Arnold biſhop of Orleans, was neither an eccleſiaſtic, nor even a Chriſtian.

John XII. a debauched pope, but an enterprizing prince, excites an inſurrection of the Romans, from the receſſes of his retreat; and while Otho goes to beſiege Camerino, the pontiff, aſſiſted by his miſtreſs, re-enters Rome. He depoſes his competitor, orders the right-hand of cardinal John to be cut off, becauſe it had written the depoſition againſt him: oppoſes council to council, and enacts a ſtatute, importing that "an inferior ſhall never have power to deprive his ſuperior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor ſhall ever have power to depoſe a pope.

a pope. He flatters himſelf with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midſt of his great deſign, he is aſſaſſinated in the embraces of one of his miſtreſſes.

He had animated the Romans, and raiſed their courage to ſuch a pitch, that even after his death they ventured to ſupport a ſiege, and did not ſurrender to Otho until reduced to the laſt extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council, that "after the example of the bleſſed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and inveſting all biſhops, the ſame rights were given to the emperor Otho." This title, ſtill extant in Gratian's collection, is ſuſpected; but, that which is not ſuſpected, is the great care the victorious emperor took to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of all his rights.

After ſo many oaths, the emperors ought to have reſided at Rome to enforce the obſervation of them.

965.

He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorrain in rebellion againſt his brother Bruno, archbiſhop of Cologn, who at that time governed in Lorrain. He is obliged to abandon Triers, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to their reſpective biſhops. High Lorrain falls into the hands of a count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorrain. Bruno reſerves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuſe, and the Scheld. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother Otho the emperor was ambitious.

The houſe of Luxemburg takes that name from the caſtle of Luxemburg, which they received

ceived in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Triers.

The Poles begin to embrace Chriſtianity.

966.

Scarce was the emperor Otho returned to Germany, when the Romans reſolve to be free. They expel pope John XIII. who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes, and the ſenate, think to revive the ancient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprize of heroes, at another ſeaſon becomes a ſeditious inſurrection. Otho flies back to Italy, and orders one half of the ſenate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another Brutus, was ſcourged in the public ſtreet, carried in proceſſion naked upon an aſs, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme miſery. Theſe executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967.

The emperor ſends for his young ſon Otho to Rome, and aſſociates him in the empire.

968.

He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own ſon and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him; and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria, by way of dower to the young princeſs Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969.

To this year almoſt all the chronologiſts place the adventure of Otho, archbiſhop of Mentz, who was beſieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that ſwam the river

river and devoured him. Probably thoſe who ſtill load hiſtory with ſuch childiſh trifles, have no other deſign than that of leaving upon record thoſe ancient monuments of weak ſuperſtition, to ſhew from what darkneſs Europe is ſcarce delivered.

970.

John Zimiſſes, who dethrones the emperor Nicephorus, ſends at length the princeſs Theophania to Otho, for his ſon: almoſt all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princeſs: but the learned and exact Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971, 972, 973.

Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vaſſal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A biſhop is eſtabliſhed at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia, and conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Mentz.

At that time the archbiſhops of Magdebourg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North, and their extenſive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7th, 973, with the glory of having re-eſtabliſhed the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho, the conqueror and oppreſſor; nor had his empire ſuch vaſt and firm foundations, as that of Charlemagne.

OTHO II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

974.

IT plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II. having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himſelf with being proclaimed at Magdebourg by the clergy and nobility of the country, which compoſed a middling aſſembly.

The deſpotiſm of the father, the fear of abſolute power, perpetuated in one family; but, above all, the ambition of Henry duke of Bavaria, Otho's couſin, induces one third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria cauſes himſelf to be crowned emperor by the biſhop of Friſingen. Poland and Denmark eſpouſe his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbours whoſe intereſt it was to diſturb its peace.

975.

The party of Otho II. is the firſt that arms, and by this diligence he preſerves the empire. His troops ſurmount the intrenchments which ſeparated Denmark from Germany, and which ſerve no other purpoſe than that of demonſtrating the weakneſs of that nation.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is ſaid to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vaſſal.

It is to be obſerved, that all theſe oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together.

ther, and thus the biſhops adminiſtered the oath to kings.

976.

Henry of Bavaria being abandoned, is impriſoned at Quidlembourg; and from thence exiled to Elrick, with the biſhop of Augſbourg, who was his partiſan.

977.

The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any mention made of Eaſtern and Weſtern France. The kings of Germany extended their territorial ſuperiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial ſuperiority we muſt not underſtand a direct dominion or poſſeſſion of lands, but the ſuperiority of the lands, the right of paramount, and of fine. In the ſequel, this expreſſion of territorial ſuperiority, hath, by mere ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual poſſeſſion of the domains which hold of the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorrain, Brabant, and Hainault, had done homage for their lands to the laſt kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretenſions to theſe countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took the advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once High and Low Lorrain.

978.

Otho aſſembles near ſixty thouſand men, ravages all Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, or make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho, in his return, is defeated in croſſing the river Aine. Geoffroi, count of Anjou, ſurnamed Griſegonnelle, purſues him, without ceaſing, in the foreſt of Ardenne, and propoſes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat. The emperor refuſes the challenge, either becauſe he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Griſegonnelle, or becauſe, being cruel, he wanted courage.

979.

The emperor and king of France make peace, in conſequence of which Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Low Lorrain from the emperor, together with part of High Lorrain. He does homage to him on his knees, and this ſubmiſſion is ſaid to have coſt his poſterity the kingdom of France; at leaſt Hugh Capet made uſe of that pretext to make him odious.

980.

While Otho II. ſtrengthened himſelf in Germany, the Romans had endeavoured to ſhake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared conſul, and he and his party had made a pope whoſe name was Boniface VII. A count of Toſcanella, who was enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Conſtantinople to invite the Greek emperors Baſilius and Conſtantine to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not ſtrong enough for ſuch an enterprize. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, chooſing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Chriſtian Greeks and Muſſulman Africans unite their ſquadrons, and together take poſſeſſion of the country of Naples.

Otho

Otho II. repairs to Italy, and marches to Rome.

981.

As Rome was divided, he found immediate admiſſion. He lodges in the pope's palace, invites ſeveral ſenators, and the partiſans of Cencius to dinner. Soldiers enter during the repaſt, and murder the gueſts. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of ancient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geofroi of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is ſuppoſed to have happened.

982.

After this bloody feaſt it is neceſſary to march into Apulia, to fight the Greeks and Saracens, who came to revenge and ſerve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treaſon.

The Germans are intirely defeated. The biſhop of Augſburg and abbot of Fuld are killed, fighting in the field of battle. The emperor eſcapes in diſguiſe, and embarks as a paſſenger in a Greek veſſel. This veſſel ſails near Capua; the emperor throws himſelf into the ſea, ſwims aſhore, and takes refuge in Capua.

983.

Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh loſt all Italy; the Greeks and Muſſulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is ſtill fatal * to the conquerors of the Romans. The

* Alluding to the conduct of Hannibal, who inſtead of beſieging Rome, immerſed himſelf in the delights of Capua.

Greeks and Arabians cannot agree: their army is inconſiderable: they give Otho time to reaſſemble the wreck of his troops, and to declare his ſon Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho duke of Bavaria had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his ſon. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having ſacked the infidel Beneventum, he cauſes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched againſt the Greeks and Arabians. No ſuch matter: he holds a council. All theſe circumſtances plainly ſhew that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Inſtead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbiſhop's ſee: he makes regulations for Saxony; and dies in Rome, September 7, without glory, though he leaves his ſon emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raiſed the whole country againſt them.

OTHO III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983.

HOW ſhould Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans, who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and

and whoſe father was defeated by the Saracens. That ſame Henry of Bavaria who had diſputed the crown with the father, eſcapes from the priſon of Maeſtricht, in which he was confined; and under pretence of acting as tutor to his couſin, the young emperor Otho III. ſecures his perſon, and conducts him to Magdebourg.

984.

Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is ſupported by Bohemia and Poland; but the greateſt part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the biſhops, hoping to be more their own maſters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to ſet the young Otho at liberty, and acknowledge him as emperor; in conſideration of which he is at laſt reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then ſolemnly proclaimed at Weiſſemſtadt.

He is ſerved at dinner by the great officers of the empire: Henry of Bavaria performs the office of ſteward, count Palatine of great cupbearer, the duke of Saxony of great maſter of the horſe, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain: the dukes of Bohemia and Poland are preſent as great vaſſals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbiſhop of Mentz and the biſhop of Ildeſheim.

During theſe troubles, Lotharius king of France attempts to retake High Lorrain, and makes himſelf maſter of Verdun.

986.

After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is reſtored to Germany.

987.

Lewis V. the laſt king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the ſecond year of his reign, Charles duke of Lorrain, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France: Hugh Capet, by his power and addreſs, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988.

The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologn permiſſion to go without a ſword, and refuſes to command in perſon the ſoldiers he owes when the emperor raiſes forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the biſhops and abbots: their privilege and their duty was then to wear the ſword, ſeeing the abbot of Verdun had occaſion to ſue for a particular diſpenſation.

989.

The Danes chooſe this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weſer. They now began to perceive in Germany the neceſſity of negociating with Sweden againſt Denmark; and the biſhop of Sleſwick is charged with this negociation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at ſea. The north of Germany has a little reſpite.

990.

The reſt of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen; and theſe feuds, which the ſovereigns cannot appeaſe, ſhew that they had more right than power. The caſe is ſtill worſe in Italy.

Pope John XV. ſon of a prieſt, at that time poſſeſſed the chair, and was favourable to the emperor. Creſcentius, the new conſul, ſon of the

the conſul Creſcentius, whoſe father was John X. had a mind to maintain the ſhadow of the ancient republic, and expelled the Pope from Rome. The empreſs Theophania, mother of Otho III. had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenbourg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenbourg is at Rome, the *Slaves* ſeize his marquiſate.

From 991 to 996.

The *Slaves*, with a crew of other Barbarians, beſiege Magdebourg: they are repulſed with difficulty: they retire to Pomerania, and cede ſome villages of Brandenbourg, which extend the marquiſate.

Auſtria was then a marquiſate alſo, and no leſs unhappy than Brandenbourg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy, without having been able to appeaſe the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; beſieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relation * pope Gregory V. as he had elected a biſhop of Spire; and is conſecrated in Rome by his kinſman, together with his empreſs Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Arragon and Caſtile.

997.

It is ſtrange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and ſo many others, ſhould ſtill relate the fable of the amours of this empreſs with a count of Modena, and the puniſhment of the

* Whoſe name was Bruno.

gallant and his miſtreſs. It is pretended that the emperor, being more incenſed againſt the miſtreſs than the gallant, ordered his wife to be burnt alive, and only condemned his rival to loſe his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her huſband's innocence, had four fine caſtles by way of indemnification. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, wife of the emperor Lewis II. Theſe are romances, the falſity of which is proved by the ſage and learned Muratori.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the *Slaves* maſters of Bernbourg; and deprives the archbiſhop of Magdebourg of the government of that country, becauſe he had allowed himſelf to be defeated by the *Slaves*.

998.

While Otho III. is employed againſt the Barbarians of the North, the conſul Creſcentius at Rome expels Gregory V *. by whom he is excommunicated to Pavia; and Otho repairs to Italy, in order to puniſh the conſul.

Creſcentius ſuſtains a ſiege in Rome, which, however he ſurrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called the Mole of Creſcentius, and now The Caſtle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he ſeemes to have deſerved the name of Conſul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow

* He likewiſe elevated another perſon to the papacy by the name of John XVI. whom Otho cauſed to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off.

for

for a miſtreſs; and by his orders the pope, nominated by Creſcentius, has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his miſtreſs are ſaid to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monaſtery, and even to have lain upon a ruſh mat.

999.

He makes a decree by which the Germans only ſhall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes ſhall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V. his relation, did not fail to ſign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000.

Otho returns to Saxony, and paſſes into Poland: he beſtows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his deſcendants. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, that the emperors created kings and dukes by breviate. Boleſlaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himſelf to pay a ſlight annual ſervice.

Pope Sylveſter II. ſome years after conferred the ſame title upon him, pretending that none but the Pope had a right to beſtow it. It is very ſtrange that one ſovereign ſhould demand a title from another; but cuſtom makes every thing familiar. Hiſtorians ſay, that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor ſtill undecayed, ſitting upon a throne of gold, with a crown of precious ſtones upon his head, and a great golden ſceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who deſtroyed Aix-la-Chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

1001.

The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples; but the Saracens often repeated their viſits. The emperor repaſſes the Alps, in order to put a ſtop to their progreſs, and that of the defenders of the Italic liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002.

The Romans beſiege his palace in Rome; and all he can do is to fly with the Pope and his miſtreſs, the widow of Creſcentius: he dies at Paterno, a ſmall town of the Campagnia of Rome, near thirty years of age. Several authors ſay he was poiſoned by his miſtreſs, becauſe he would not make her empreſs; others, that he was poiſoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long ſtruggle of the papacy againſt the empire, of the Romans againſt both, and of the Italian liberty againſt the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the hiſtory of Germany.

Thoſe three Othos, who re-eſtabliſhed the empire, have all three beſieged Rome, and filled the ſtreets with blood, and Arnold had ſacked is before their time.

1003.

Otho III. left no children, Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire: one of the moſt powerful was Henry duke of Bavaria, and the moſt obſtinate of his rivals was Eckard marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is aſſaſſinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, cauſes himſelf to be conſecrated at Mentz, July 19.

HENRY II.

Fifteenth Emperor.

1003.

SCARCE is Henry of Bavaria crowned, when he cauſes Herman duke of Suabia and Alſace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to the empire. He engages Straſbourg in his intereſt: it was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia; marches into Saxony; exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbiſhops of Magdebourg and Bremen, the counts Palatine, and even Boleſlaus king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the *Slaves* who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the firſt count of Luxembourg: he makes a progreſs through the provinces; receives the homage of the biſhops of Liege and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At laſt he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who like the reſt takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakneſs againſt the German government are inceſſantly renewed. A certain marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himſelf king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæſar: then the archbiſhops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their conſent, as the popes pretended that the emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbiſhop of Milan, addreſſes himſelf to king Henry; for it was

always the Italians who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry ſends troops to Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats theſe troops near the Tirol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1004.

The new Chriſtian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakneſs of Boleſlaus duke of Bohemia; makes himſelf maſter of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himſelf to the practice of the Chriſtians emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt: he takes all Bohemia, Miſnia, and Luſatia. Henry II. contents himſelf with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with ſeveral princes of Germany againſt Henry, who therefore is reſolved to preſerve Germany, before he goes to oppoſe the new Cæſar of Italy.

1005.

He reconciles himſelf to the biſhops; negotiates with the noblemen, levies ſoldiers, and diſconcerts the aſſociation.

The Hungarians began to embrace Chriſtianity through the care of the miſſionaries, whoſe ſole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the ſiſter of Henry the emperor, becomes a Chriſtian about this time; and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Chriſtian Hungarians againſt the idolatrous Hungarians.

The

The church of Rome, which had allowed itſelf to be anticipated by the emperors, in the nomination of a king of Poland, is before-hand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apoſtle, with the right of having the croſs carried before him like the archbiſhops; and Hungary is divided into ten biſhoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Chriſtians.

The archbiſhop of Milan preſſes Henry II. to come to Italy againſt his king Ardouin. Accordingly Henry ſets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the ſtates or parliament of which are then electing a duke: and Henry of Luxembourg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimouſly choſen. An important fact which ſhews the rights of the people were reckoned of ſome conſideration.

Henry, before he paſſed the Alps, leaves his wife Cunegonda in the hands of the archbiſhop of Magdebourg. It is pretended, that he had made a vow of chaſtity with her: a vow of imbecillity in an emperor.

He is no ſooner in the neighbourhood of Verona, than the Cæſar Ardouin betakes himſelf to flight. We always ſee the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there; but as ſoon us theſe ſet foot in Italy, the kings are ſeen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia: There they conſpire againſt his life. He ſtifles the conſpiracy, and after abundance of bloodſhed pardons the conſpirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to the

the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, quits Italy with all poſſible diſpatch.

1006.

It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home, when they might ſecure their dominions in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians againſt the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the inveſtiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He paſſes the Oder, purſues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a biſhopric; but he gives the feodal lordſhip to the pope: he is ſaid to have reſerved to himſelf no more than the right of lodging in the caſtle.

He aſſembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, ſolely on account of this new biſhopric of Bamberg, which the biſhop of Wurtzburg oppoſes as a diſmembering of his biſhopric. The emperor proſtrates himſelf before the biſhops; they diſcuſs the rights of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, without coming to any agreement.

1007.

The Pruſſians or Boruſſians begin to be talked of. They were barbarians who lived upon horſes blood: inhabiting latterly the deſerts between Poland and the Baltick. They are ſaid to have worſhipped ſerpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There muſt have been ſomething to be got amongſt them, ſeeing the Poles alſo made incurſions into their country.

1008, 1009.

Otho duke of Low-Lorrain, the laſt known deſcend-

deſcendants of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes the advantage of them to diſturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010.

Herman, ſon of Eckard of Thuringia receives from Henry II. the marquiſate of Miſnia.

1011.

War is ſtill carried on with Poland. It is only ſince ſhe is become a feudatory to Germany, that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already exiſted in Sileſia, and is beſieged: the Sileſians were united with the Poles.

1012.

Henry, fatigued with all theſe troubles, is deſirous of being made canon of Straſbourg. He makes a vow to that purpoſe, and in order to accompliſh his vow founds a canonate, the poſſeſſor of which is called *King of the Choir*. Having laid aſide the deſign of being a canon he goes to fight the Poles, and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who being accuſed of adultery, after having made a vow of chaſtity, proves her innocence by handling red-hot iron. This tale muſt be ranked with the funeral pile of the empreſs Mary of Arragon.

1013.

As ſoon as the emperor quitted Italy, Ardouin repoſſeſſed himſelf of it, and the archbiſhop of Milan ineeſſantly increats Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry repaſſes the Alps of Tyrol a ſecond time; and the *Slaves* ſeize that very conjuncture to renounce the little Chriſtianity they knew, and ravage the whole territory of Hamburg.

1014.

As ſoon as the emperor is in the Veronais, Ardouin betakes himſelf to flight. The Romans are ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He firſt aſks him on the ſteps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my ſucceſſors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the ſimplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to ſubdue Lombardy. He paſſes through Burgundy, viſits the abbey of Clugni, and deſires to be aſſociated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and deſires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot being wiſer than Henry, ſaid to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

1015, 1016, 1017, 1018.

Theſe years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe, is more barbarous and miſerable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peaſants (ſerfs,) made war upon his neighbour: and when the poſſeſſors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain, they obliged their vaſſals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and ſerve them. This was called the Law of Truce.

How

How could the emperors chooſe to live in the midſt of uch barbarity, inſtead of going to reſide at Rome? becauſe, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was neceſſary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019, 1020, 1021.

The emperor's authority was ſtrengthened in Lombardy by his lieutenants. But the Saracens ſtill continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuſcany. But their incurſions in Italy were like thoſe of the *Slaves* and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conqueſts, becauſe they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks ſtill poſſeſſed great part of Apulia and Calabria governed by a Catapan. One Millo prince of Bari and a prince of Salerno took arms againſt this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the firſt time, thoſe adventurers of Normandy, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They ſerved Millo againſt the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand ſuccour of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predeceſſors to the ſee of Rome, reſerving to himſelf the ſovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are reſtricted from having either wives or concubines.

1022.

There being a neceſſity for oppoſing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the ſpring. His army is chiefly compoſed

compoſed of biſhops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not ſuffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the biſhops to wallow in human blood: inconſiſtencies too frequent among men.

He ſends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himſelf maſter of the country: and it was but an indifferent conqueſt to ſeize the abbot of Monte Caſſini who had declared againſt him, and cauſe another to be elected in his room.

1023.

He very ſoon repaſſes the Alps according to the maxim of his predeceſſors, never to ſtay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuſe between Sedan and Mouſon. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a viſit of friends, than a conference of kings; an example which hath been ſeldom imitated.

1024.

The emperor afterwards makes the tour of great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving every where marks of his juſtice and generoſity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but two and fifty years of age: and hiſtorians write, that before his death he ſaid to the parents of his wife: "You gave me her a virgin, and I reſtore you her a virgin:" a very ſtrange declaration from a huſband, and ſtill more ſtrange from a crowned huſband. He died July 14, and his body is carried to Bamberg, which was his favourite town. The canons of Bamberg

Bamberg canonized him an hundred years after his death.

CONRAD II.

Surnamed THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

1024.

ONE cannot ſufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of diſſertations upon the ſeven pretended electors who were ſuppoſed to be inſtituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater aſſembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of High and Low Lorrain, together with a prodigious number of counts, biſhops and abbots, gave their votes. It muſt be obſerved that the magiſtrates of the towns were preſent, though they did not give their ſuffrages. They incamped ſix weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad ſurnamed the Salic, becauſe he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probability he was choſen as the leaſt dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him; and he is no more the chief of powerful

powerful vaſſals, every one of whom is as power-ful as himſelf.

1025, 1026.

Germany was always conſidered as the center of the empire; and the name of the emperor ſeems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians ſnatched all opportunities to ſeparate theſe two titles.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy, come and offer the empire to Robert, king of France; at that time, it was the preſent of an unſubſtantial title, and of ſubſtantial wars: therefore Robert wiſely refuſes the proffer. They addreſs themſelves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, becauſe he had leſs to loſe. But pope John XX. and the archbiſhop of Milan, bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. Firſt of all his ſon Henry muſt be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the cuſtom of France, and of every other nation.

He is obliged to beſiege Pavia. He undergoes ſeditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027.

Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himſelf no longer in ſafety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction againſt him. Theſe are the cauſes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028, 1029, 1030.

Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relation by his mother. demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the laſt duke's ſon. A proof that the rights of blood were

were not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed: indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the ſon. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made; and, after the death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raiſe one Peter, a kinſman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary: he has moreover power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the ſaid Peter, whom the incenſed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who ſtill believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wiſhed to hear him called Peter the Roman.

Erneſt, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms againſt the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban, at firſt, ſignified Banner, afterwards Edict, or Proclamation, and then Baniſhment. This is one of the firſt examples of that proſcription. The form was, "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we ſend thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

1031, 1032.

At this time the ſovereigns of Sileſia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland inſenſibly detaches itſelf from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032, 1033, 1034.

If the empire loſes one vaſſal in Poland, it acquires an hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Rhodolphus, the laſt king, who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very ſmall

extent of dominion, with the territorial ſuperiority, or at leaſt pretenſions to the ſuperiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiſs, the Griſons, Provence, Franche Comté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiné. From hence the lands on the other ſide of the Rhine are ſtill called the Lands of the Empire. All the noblemen of thoſe cantons, who formerly held of Rhodolphus, now hold of the emperor.

Some biſhops were likewiſe erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the ſame rights. The emperors ſtill raiſe the biſhops in order to oppoſe them to the noblemen; for they were always at eaſe when thoſe two bodies were divided, and very much diſturbed when they were united.

The ſees of Lyons, Beſançon, Ambrun, Vienna, Lauſanne, Geneva, Baſil, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is Humbert, with the white Hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are deſcended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablais, the Valais, and St. Maurice: in the ſame manner, from Poland to the Scheld, and from the Saone to Garillan, the emperors every where created princes, and looked upon themſelves as lords paramount of almoſt all Europe.

From 1035 to 1039.

Italy, ſtill involved in troubles, recalls Conrad. That ſame archbiſhop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reaſon againſt him; becauſe his rights and pretenſions were augmented by it. Conrad cauſes him to be

be apprehended with three other biſhops. He is afterwards obliged to beſiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loſes part of his army, and of conſequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua; but, in the mean time, the Norman adventurers make conqueſts in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to cuſtom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht *, June 4, 1039.

HENRY III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

From 1039 to 1042.

HENRY III. ſurnamed *the Black*, ſon of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and conſecrated a ſecond time by the archbiſhop of Cologn. The firſt years of his reign are ſignalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, which however, produce no great event.

He beſtows thearchbiſhoprick of Lyons, and

* Leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, generous, and magnanimous prince. A gentleman, who had loſt his leg in his ſervice, was gratified with as many pieces of gold as one of his boots could contain, which the emperor told him, were given to defray the expence of his cure.

inveſts

inveſts the archbiſhop, by the croſs and ring, without any contradiction; two circumſtances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings poſſeſſed the right of inveſting biſhops.

From 1042 to 1046.

Rome and Italy were involved as uſual in great confuſion.

The houſe of Toſcanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchaſed the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchaſed it at the ſame time, theſe three pontifs ſhared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the houſe of Toſcanella.

This ſingular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to conſult their pleaſures; and when they had no more, each ſold his part of the papacy to the deacon Gratian, whom father Maimbourg calls an Holy Prieſt, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a ſolemn agreement was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then payed to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence; and to which the kings of England had long ſubmitted.

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himſelf wiſely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exerciſed more authority in that place. He depoſed Gregory VI. as having been

been guilty of ſimony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger *, biſhop of Bamberg, without any perſon's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, become pope, conſecrates the emperor and his wife, and promiſes all that the popes have at any time promiſed to the emperors, when theſe laſt happened to be the ſtronger.

1047.

Henry III. beſtows the inveſtiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almoſt all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered theſe countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give theſe dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toſcanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant ſees.

1048.

The duchy of Moſellanic Lorrain is given to Gerard of Alſace, and that of Low Lorrain to the houſe of Luxembourg. The houſe of Alſace, ſince that time, is known only by the titles of marquiſes and dukes of Lorrain.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, juſt as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. ſends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damaſus II.

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* Alias Heidegger.

1049.

Damaſus dying, the emperor, in the aſſembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, biſhop of Toul, to the papacy, and ſends him to take poſſeſſion. This is pope Leo IX. the firſt who kept his own biſhoprick together with that of Rome. It is not ſurpriſing that the emperors ſhould thus diſpoſe of the holy ſee. Theodora and Maroſia had accuſtomed the Romans to this ſubmiſſion, and without Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kiſſed, and they themſelves would have been ſlaves.

1050, 1051, 1052.

The Hungarians kill their king Peter, renounce the Chriſtian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unſucceſsfully *; and cannot put an end to it any other way, but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew the new king, who was a Chriſtian, although his ſubjects were not.

1053.

Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. reſumes the feodal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Bene-

* So ſays Heiſs: but the Saxon Chronicles affirm that he defeated Andrew in a bloody battle, deprived him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he ſhould pay a large yearly tribute in money, and furniſh him with a certain number of fighting men.

ventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the reſt of the duchy: but the emperor furniſhed the pope with an army to expel theſe new conquerors, who were become too near neighbours to Rome.

Leo IX. marches againſt them with this army, one half of which is commanded by eccleſiaſtics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiſcard, or Guichard, thoſe Normans ſo famous in hiſtory, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope priſoner, proſtrate themſelves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054.

The emperor affects abſolute power. The duke of Bavaria being at war with the biſhop of Ratiſbon, Henry III. eſpouſes the biſhop's cauſe, ſummons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, ſtrips him of his dominions, and gives Bavaria to his own ſon Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavours to intereſt in his revenge.

The emperor propoſes to the noblemen, who are moſt attached to his intereſt, to ſecure the empire to his ſon, who was an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans, in the caſtle of Tribur near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been aſſumed by Ludolphus, the ſon of Otho I.

1055.

He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful; though it did not coin money till after the year 950; and was not infranchiſed till after 998, from the acknowledgement of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in poſſeſſion of Corſica, which ſhe had taken from the Arabians; but her trade was much more advantageous than the poſſeſſion of Corſica, which the Piſans diſputed with her.

There were no ſuch towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The people of the North, and thoſe of the Eaſt, ſtill poorer, continued to ravage theſe countries.

1056.

The *Slaves* make another irruption, and deſolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of pope Victor II. who before his death conſecrates his ſon Henry emperor, in the ſixth year of his age.

HENRY IV.

Eighteenth Emperor.

1056.

A Woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the

ycung emperor Henry IV. She, who had by right of guardianſhip the patrimonial eſtates of her ſon, had that of the empire, becauſe ſhe was poſſeſſed of courage and addreſs.

From 1057 to 1069.

The firſt years of the reign of Henry IV. are obſcure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia, ſtill vaſſal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians, ſo long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to ſolicit ſuccours of the Germans againſt the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithſtanding that ſuccour they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratiſbon.

No policy or great deſign ſeems to have influenced theſe wars, which are produced from the ſlighteſt cauſes; ſometimes they are derived from the ſpirit of Chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war againſt the biſhops of Cologne and Liege, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The reſt of Europe takes no ſhare in the affairs of Germany, there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empreſs Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1061, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV. the archbiſhop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the em-

peror from his mother, who is accuſed of ſacrificing every thing to the biſhop of Augſbourg, her miniſter and gallant. She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil; and the noblemen remain maſters of the emperor, and of Germany during his minority.

Mean while, after abundance of troubles in Italy, ſtill excited on account of the pontificate, pope Nicholas II. in 1059, had decreed in a council of an hundred and thirteen biſhops, that for the future the cardinals only ſhould elect the pope, who ſhould afterwards be preſented to the people, to have the election confirmed, "Saving, added he, the honour and reſpect due to our dear ſon Henry, now king, who, if it pleaſes God, ſhall be emperor, according to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to eſtabliſh the rights and pretenſions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a cuſtom was eſtabliſhed, which the dread of the rapaciouſneſs of a thouſand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the church under the title of Oblata, and continued feudatory poſſeſſor for a ſlight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the ſuperiority of Rome, over the kingdom of Naples.

The ſame pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors made protectors and vaſſals of them, and thoſe who were feudatories of the empire, and leſs afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to pope Nicholas, in the council

council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power reſembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they beſtowed the inveſtiture on the ſtrongeſt competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apuglia and Calabria, and is inveſted by the ſtandard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua; and the pope, moreover, gives them Sicily, in caſe they expel the Saracens from that iſland.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themſelves maſters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greateſt ſervice to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got poſſeſſion of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the houſe of Toſcanella.

1069.

Henry IV. being now of age, frees himſelf from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Every thing was then in the moſt horrible confuſion. This may be judged by the right of ranſoming travellers; a right which all the noblemen from the Maine and the Weſer to the country of the Slaves, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor ſeemed likewiſe very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an aſſociation againſt him.

1070.

Henry IV. aſſiſted by the reſt of the empire, diſſipates this aſſociation.

Otho of Bavaria is put to the ban of the empire. He was the ſecond ſovereign of that du-

chy who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelfe, son of Azo marquis of Italy.

1071, 1072.

The emperor, though young and addicted to pleasure, makes a progress through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first æra of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had maintained his station. Hildebrand, born at Soanne in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugni under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII. a man of an enterprizing genius, turbulent, and fiery, but artful, even in the midst of his impetuosity; the most insolent of men, and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his councils established and reinforced the authority of the church.

He persuades pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness; but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and great part of Germany, had then declared against Henry IV.

1073.

Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent. He writes to that prince, that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chancellor

cellor to confirm the election of the pope, who having nothing farther to fear, takes off the maſk.

1074.

Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the aſſociation formed againſt him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075.

The Ruſſians began to be Chriſtians, and to be known in the Weſt.

One Demetrius (for the Greek names had penetrated even to that part of the world) expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the aſſiſtance of the emperor; and what is ſtill more remarkable, ſends his ſon to Rome to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Chriſtians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the ſpiritual chieftain of Europe.

Henry totally deſtroys the aſſociation, and reſtores peace to the empire.

He ſeems to have been afraid of new revolutions; for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuſes himſelf of debauchery and ſimony; and we muſt believe his word. His confeſſion gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the faireſt of all rights: but it does not give him that of diſpoſing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the biſhops of Bremen, Conſtance, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "You have permitted clerks, ſays he, to keep concubines, and even to take new ones;—we

order you to appear at the firſt council in Rome."

It was alſo neceſſary to ſettle the affair of tythes, which the biſhops and abbots of Germany diſputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the firſt who propoſes a cruſade. He writes on that ſubject to Henry IV. he pretends that he himſelf will go and deliver the holy ſepulchre at the head of fifty thouſand men, and deſires the emperor to come and ſerve under him. The then prevailing ſpirit diveſts this idea of the pope of the air of madneſs, and leaves nothing but that of greatneſs.

The deſign of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, ſeems no leſs chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without ſome ſucceſs.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being maſter of no more than what lies between Preſburg and Auſtria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him, "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy ſee, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia an hundred marks of ſilver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompence, the right of wearing the mitre.

1076.

Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating biſhops and abbots, and of giving the inveſtiture

veſtiture by the croſs and the ring. This right he had in common with almoſt all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to chooſe their own pontiffs and magiſtrates; and it is but juſt that their choice ſhould concur with the royal authority; but this authority had uſurped the whole. The emperors filled vacant biſhopricks, and Henry IV. ſold them. Gregory, in oppoſing this abuſe, maintained the natural liberty of mankind; but in oppoſing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a ſtill greater abuſe. Then broke out the diviſions between the empire and the church.

The predeceſſors of Gregory VII. had ſent legates to the emperors, for no other purpoſe but to intreat their ſuccour, and deſire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory ſends two legates to ſummon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, at their arrival at Goſlar, are abandoned to the inſults of the ſervants. By way of anſwer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almoſt all the noblemen, biſhops, and abbots of Germany are preſent.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands juſtice for all the crimes he imputes to the pope, Gregory is depoſed by a majority of voices; but there ought to have been an army to go and ſupport that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his ſide, depoſes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him, ſays he, to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and releaſe all his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that theſe excommunications would be ſeconded by civil wars. He brings over the

German biſhops to his party. Theſe biſhops engage the noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. ſerves them as a pretext.

That ſame Guelfe to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himſelf againſt him by means of his own bounty, and ſupports the malecontents.

At length, the majority of the biſhops, and even of the princes who had depoſed Gregory VII. ſubject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They deſire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitively at Augſburg.

1077.

The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment of Augſbourg, and in conſequence of an unheard of reſolution, goes, attended by a few domeſtics, to implore abſolution of the Pope.

The Pope was then in the fortreſs of Canoſſa, upon the Appennine, with the counteſs Mathilda, the emperor's own couſin.

The counteſs Mathilda is the true cauſe of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have ſo long ravaged Italy. She poſſeſſed, in her own right, great part of Tuſcany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almoſt the whole of what is now called the Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvietta, part of Ombria, Spoleto, and the March of Ancona. She was called the Great Counteſs, ſometimes Ducheſs. There was not then any form of titles uſed in Europe. People ſaid to kings, "Your excellency, your ſerenity, your grandeur, and your grace,

grace," indifferently. The title of Majeſty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honour attributed to the imperial dignity. There is ſtill extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the biſhop of Modena, which begins thus: "In preſence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, ducheſs and counteſs." Her mother, who was ſiſter of Henry III. and very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princeſs in an implacable hatred to the houſe of Henry. She was ſubmiſſive to the Pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies ſay, her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred to the Germans, ſhe carried to ſuch a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the Pope.

It was in preſence of this counteſs Mathilda, that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in hair-cloth proſtrated himſelf at the Pope's feet, ſwearing that he would be ſubmiſſive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augſbourg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more diſſatisfied with the Pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm: they promiſe to ſuccour Henry IV. if he will break the ſhameful treaty he has made. Then the world ſaw, what had never been ſeen before, a German emperor aſſiſted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and biſhops aſſembled at Forcheim in Franconia, animated by the Pope's legates, depoſe the emperor, and reunite their ſuffrages in favour of Rodolphus of Rhinfeld, duke of Suabia.

1078.

1078.

Gregory then behaves like the ſupreme judge of kings: he has depoſed Henry IV. but ſtill it is in his power to pardon that monarch: he takes it amiſs that they did not wait for his preciſe order to conſecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz: he declares from the fortreſs of Canoſſa, where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who ſhall obey him the moſt implicitly.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party, and levies an army. Almoſt all Germany is, by means of the two factions, involved in blood and flames.

1079.

All the biſhops are in arms in this war. A biſhop of Straſbourg, one of Henry's partiſans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the Pope.

1080.

While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. eſcapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry a-new, and by his bull of the 7th of March, "We give, ſays he, the Teutonic kingdom to Rodolphus, and we condemn Henry to be vanquiſhed."

He ſends to Rodolphus a crown of gold, with this wretched verſe, ſo well known:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

Henry IV. on his ſide, aſſembles thirty biſhops, with ſome German and Lombard noblemen at Brixen, and depoſes the Pope for the ſecond time, as ineffectually as at firſt.

Bertrand

Bertrand count of Provence withdraws himſelf from his obedience to the emperors, and does homage to the Pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himſelf with the protection of the Norman princes, and gives them a new inveſtiture, on condition that they ſhall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rodolphus and his party, and promiſes that Henry ſhall die within the year: but, in the famous battle of Merſbourg, Henry IV. aſſiſted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the Pope's prediction upon his competitor Rodolphus, who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand *.

1081.

Henry revenges himſelf upon Saxony, which then becomes the moſt miſerable of all countries.

Before his departure for Italy, he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederick baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the deciſive battle of Merſbourg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illuſtrious and unfortunate houſe of Suabia.

Henry, being conqueror, marches into Italy. The places belonging to the counteſs Mathilda make reſiſtance. He carries along with him a

* Rodolphus perceiving his end approaching, cauſed his hand which was cut off to be brought to him; and addreſſing himſelf to the officers that were preſent, "Behold, ſaid he, the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry, which I have violated at the inſtigation of Rome, in perfidiouſly aſpiring at an honour which was not my due."

Pope

Pope of his own making, called Guibert: but this very circumſtance hinders him at firſt from being received in Rome.

1082.

The Saxons ſet up the ſhadow of an emperor, one count Herman, ſcarce known in the world.

1083.

Henry beſieges Rome. Gregory propoſes to him to come once more and demand abſolution, and promiſes to crown him on theſe terms. Henry, inſtead of anſwering, takes the city, and the Pope ſhuts himſelf up in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiſchard comes to his aſſiſtance, although he had, ſome years before, had his ſhare of the excommunications which Gregory ſo liberally beſtowed. A negotiation is ſet on foot, and the Pope promiſes to crown Henry.

Gregory propoſes to keep his promiſe by lowering down the crown with a rope, from the walls of the caſtle of St. Angelo, upon the emperor's head.

1084.

Henry is not ſatisfied with the pleaſant ceremony: he exalts his antipope Guibert, and is ſolemnly crowned by his hands.

Mean while Robert Guiſchard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire *, releaſes the Pope from the caſtle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and maſter, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the pri-

* While Henry repaired upon ſome very urgent affairs to Lombardy, Guiſchard came to Rome, and delivered Gregory.

ſoner

ſoner of his deliverers; but ſtill talking as the maſter of kings, and martyr of the church.

1085.

The emperor returns to Rome, where he cauſes himſelf and his Pope to be acknowledged, and returns with great haſte to Germany, like all his predeceſſors, who ſeem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the diviſions of Germany; and there is a neceſſity for cruſhing the anti-emperor, and taming the Saxons: but he never could raiſe great armies; conſequently his ſucceſs could never be complete.

1086.

He ſubdues Thuringia; but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelfe, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his ſon-in law, declare againſt him; and a civil war rages through all Germany,

1087.

Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Caſſini, is Pope, under the name of Victor III. The counteſs Mathilda, ſtill faithful to her hatred of Henry IV. furniſhes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garriſon and his pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues ſubject to the imperial authority.

1088.

The anti-emperor Hernan, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himſelf on his knees before Henry IV. and dies at laſt in oblivion.

1089.

Henry IV. marries a Ruſſian princeſs, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg, of the houſe of Staden.

Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquiſate of Miſnia to the count of Lanſberg, one of the moſt ancient Saxon noblemen: from this marquis of Miſnia is the whole houſe of Saxony deſcended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greateſt obſtacle he there finds, is ſtill that counteſs Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelfe, ſon of that ungrateful Guelfe to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The counteſs maintains the war in her dominions againſt the emperor, who returns to Germany, without having done any thing to purpoſe.

This Guelfe, Mathilda's huſband, is ſaid to have been the firſt origin of the faction of the Guelfs; by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Ghibelin was long after applied to the factions of the emperors, becauſe Henry ſon of Conrad III. was born at Ghibeling. This derivation of theſe two words of war, is as probable and as uncertain as the others.

1090.

The new pope Urban II. author of the cruſades, purſues Henry IV. with no leſs rancour than that of Gregory VII.

The biſhops of Conſtance and Paſſau excite an inſurrection of the people. His new wife Adelaide of Ruſſia, and his ſon Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt againſt him. Never was emperor, huſband, or father, more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091.

The empreſs Adelaide and her ſon-in-law Conrad

Conrad paſs into Italy. The counteſs Mathilda furniſhes them with troops and money. Roger duke of Calabria gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092.

The emperor, when he laſt departed from Italy, had left a gariſon in Rome: he was ſtill maſter of the palace of the Lateran, which was pretty ſtrong, and in which his pope Guibert had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garriſon ſells both garriſon and palace to the Pope. Jeffrey, abbot of Vendome, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburſes him with the title of Cardinal, which he ſettles upon him and his ſucceſſors. Pope Guibert betakes himſelf to ſlight.

1093, 1094, 1095.

During theſe years, the minds of men in Europe are engroſſed by the idea of Cruſades which the famous Peter the hermit preached up every where, with an enthuſiaſm which ſpread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious aſſembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were about forty-thouſand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope propoſe the cruſade.

There the empreſs Adelaide and the counteſs Mathilda ſolemnly demanded juſtice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrade comes and kiſſes the feet of Urban II. takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horſe

horſe by the bridle. Urban promiſes to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of inveſtiture. He afterwards kiſſes him on the face, and dines with him in Cremona.

1096.

The cruſade having been preached in France with more ſucceſs than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the hermit, and a German monk called Godeſcald, take their march through Germany, at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097.

As theſe vagabonds wore the croſs and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Cruſards began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologn, Mentz, Triers, and ſeveral other cities. They are maſſacred and burnt. Almoſt all the whole city of Mentz is reduced to aſhes by theſe diſorders.

The emperor Henry repreſſes theſe exceſſes as much as he can, and leaves the Cruſards to take their route through Hungary, where they are almoſt all murdered.

Young Guelfe quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a ſeparation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the reeſtabliſhment of the emperor's affairs.

1098.

Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he cauſes his ſon Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099.

He cauſes his ſecond ſon Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would have

have greater cauſe of complaint againſt the younger than againſt the elder.

1100.

The emperor's authority is abſolutely deſtroyed in Italy, but re-eſtabliſhed in Germany.

1101.

The rebellious Conrad dies ſuddenly at Florence. Pope Paſchal II. to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain oppoſed Antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV. after the example of his predeceſſors.

1102.

The counteſs Mathilda having quarrelled with her huſband, renews her donation to the Roman Church.

Bruno archbiſhop of Triers, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been inveſted by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to aſk pardon for having received the inveſtiture.

1104.

Henry IV. promiſes to go to the Holy Land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his ſubjects.

1105.

But at the ſame time, the archbiſhop of Mentz and the biſhop of Conſtance, the pope's legates, preceiving the emperor's cruſade was no more than a feint to excite his ſon Henry againſt him, they releaſed him from the excommunication which (ſay they) he has incurred 'By being faithful to his father.' The pope encourages him; and ſeveral Saxons and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partizans of young Henry aſſemble a council and an army: and in this council wiſe laws are made. There they confirm what is called

called God's Truee; a monument of the horrible barbarity which prevailed in thoſe times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war, to ſlay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry proteſts in the council, that he is ready to ſubmit to his father, if his father will ſubmit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleyſon**, which was the prayer uſed in armies and councils.

Mean while this rebellious ſon engages the marquis of Auſtria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia ſometimes took the title of king, ſince the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows ſtronger and ſtronger. The emperor in vain writes to pope Paſchal, who will not liſten to his propoſals. A diet is ſummoned at Mentz in order to appeaſe ſo many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, aſks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the caſtle of Bingenheim in the neighbourhood of Mentz, cauſes him to be apprehended and detained in priſon.

1106.

The diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious ſon againſt the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he muſt ſend the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural uſurper is crowned. But he proteſts with a ſigh, it is againſt his own

* Two Greek words ſignifying, *Lord have mercy.*

incli-

inclination, and that he will reſtore the crown to his father, as ſoon as Henry IV. ſhall be obedient to the pope.

We find in the Conſtitutions of Goldaſt a letter from the emperor to his ſon, in which he conjures him to allow the biſhop of Liege to grant him an aſylum at leaſt. "Allow me," ſays he, "to continue at Liege, if not as emperor, at leaſt as refugee. Let it not be ſaid to my ſhame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodging in Eaſter-time. If you grant me what I aſk, I ſhall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuſe me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country, than wander thus from one diſgrace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his ſon! The hypocriſy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince reſtored ſome partizans to Henry IV. The new elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's aſylum at Liege, was repulſed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alſace: and all the homage the Alſatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, ſo that he was compelled to betake himſelf to flight. But this ſlight check ſerved only to incenſe him, and aggravate the miſeries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the biſhop of Liege, the dukes of Limburg and Low Lorrain. The count of Hainault was againſt him. Pope Paſchal wrote to the count of Hainault, "Perſecute without ceaſing Henry chief of the heretics, and his fautors: you cannot offer more agreeable ſacrifices to God."

Henry

Henry IV. at length being almoſt quite deſtitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Leige, writes to the abbot of Clugni, and ſeems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liege, Auguſt 7, overwhelmed with grief and crying aloud "O God of vengeance! thou wilt revenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curſes of dying men, eſpecially thoſe of parents: an error which would be very uſeful if it could terrify thoſe who deſerve ſuch curſes.

The unnatural ſon of Henry IV. comes to Liege, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcaſe of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spire.

HENRY V.

NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

THE lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themſelves in the right of ſovereignty. They aſſumed the name of *Coimperants*, looking upon themſelves as ſovereigns in their fiefs and vaſſals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs; but the ſame authority that beſtowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates; but the republic alone has the right of deſtitution. In effect one may receive through favour, but he ought not to be diſpoſſeſſed but by juſtice. Several vaſſals of the

the empire had already intitled themſelves dukes and counts "By the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themſelves, and which the emperors endeavoured to reduce, contributed at leaſt as much as the popes, to the troubles of the empire, and the rebellion of children againſt their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the ſame in France and Arragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themſelves ſeparately. Europe was wholly roughened with caſtles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were ſlaves, the burghers of the town were deſpiſed and racked with impoſitions, and, ſome trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of miſery.

The firſt thing done by Henry V. after his coronation, is to maintain the ſame right of inveſtiture againſt which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paſchal being come to France goes as far as Chaalons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and biſhops, who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embaſſy at firſt refuſes to make the firſt viſit to the Pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno archbiſhop of Triers ſupports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbiſhop to exclaim againſt thoſe inveſtitures and homages of which the biſhops

made ſuch loud complaints; but private intereſt always overbalances that of the public.

1107, 1108, 1109, 1110.

Theſe four years are almoſt wholly employed in wars againſt Hungary and part of Poland; wars without cauſe, and without any great ſucceſs on either ſide, which ended in the wearineſs of all parties, and left things exactly as they were.

1111.

The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I. king of England, ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of William the Conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower, a ſum amounting to about nine hundered thouſand pounds ſterling. This was equal to about five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of France. All the hiſtorians fail in point of exactneſs in recording ſuch facts, and the hiſtory of thoſe times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown; and pope Paſchal II. in order to diſturb him, renews the quarrel of the inveſtitures.

Henry V. ſends ambaſſadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the mean time he promiſes by a writing ſtill preſerved in the Vatician to renounce the inveſtitures, and to leave the popes in poſſeſſion of all they had received from the emperors; and what is ſtrange enough, after theſe ſubmiſſions he promiſes not to kill or mutilate the ſovereign pontiff.

Paſchal II. by the ſame act promiſes to order the biſhops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs

fiefs holding of the empire; by this agreement the biſhops loſt a great deal; but the pope and emperor were conſiderable gainers.

All the biſhops of Italy and Germany, who were at Rome, proteſting againſt this agreement, Henry V. in order to appeaſe them, propoſes that they ſhall farm the lands of which they were formerly in poſſeſſion. But the biſhops will by no means conſent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all theſe conteſts, declares he will be crowned and conſecrated without any condition at all. This whole diſpute paſſed in the church of St. Peter during maſs, which being ended the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into cuſtody.

There is an inſurrection in Rome in favour of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his eſcape; but returns immediately with troops; fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills abundance of Romans, and eſpecially prieſts, and carries off the pope priſoner with ſome cardinals.

Paſchal was more complaiſant in priſon than at the altar; he does every thing that the emperor deſires. At the end of two months Henry V. reconducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor April 13th, and at the ſame time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the inveſtitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of *dilection*. But it is ſtill more ſo, that the emperor and pope ſhould communicate of the ſame hoſt, and that the pope ſhould ſay, when he gave the half of the hoſt to the emperor, "As this part of the ſacrament is divided from the other, ſo may the firſt of us two, who ſhall

break the peace, be ſeparated from the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt."

Henry V. finiſhes the farce by aſking the Pope's permiſſion to bury his father in conſecrated ground, aſſuring him he died penitent: then he returns to Germany to perform the obſequies of Henry IV. without having eſtabliſhed his power in Italy.

1112.

Paſchal II. is not diſpleaſed to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms diſavowing his condeſcenſion for Henry V.

He aſſembles a council in the baſilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in preſence of three hundred prelates, he aſks pardon for his weakneſs, offers to reſign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debaſes himſelf in order to exalt the church.

1113.

Perhaps Paſchal II. and his council would not have taken this ſtep, if they had not depended upon one of thoſe revolutions, which have always followed the conſecration of the emperors. In effect, there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treaſury; another ſource of civil wars.

1114.

Lotharius duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction againſt Henry V. That emperor having occaſion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the houſe of Suabia. Frederick de Stauffen, duke of Suabia and father of the emperor Barbaroſſa, prevents Henry V. from ſinking in theſe troubles.

1115.

1115.

The moſt dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three prieſts; the Pope in Italy, the archbiſhop of Mentz, who ſometimes defeats his troops, and Erlang biſhop of Wirtzbourg, who being ſent by him to the confederates, betrays his maſter, and eſpouſes their cauſe.

1116.

Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang biſhop of Wirtzburg to the ban of the empire. The biſhops of Wirtzbourg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itſelf belonged to the imperial houſe.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad, nephew of Henry V. At preſent there are no dukes, either of this great province, or of Suabia.

Biſhop Erlang defends himſelf for a long time in Wirtzbourg, diſputes the ramparts ſword in hand, and makes his eſcape when the town is taken.

The famous counteſs Mathilda dies, after having renewed the donation of all her eſtate to the Roman church.

1117.

The emperor Henry V. diſinherited by his couſin, and excommunicated by the Pope, goes to Italy to take poſſeſſion of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his Holineſs: he enters Rome, and the Pope flies for ſhelter among the Norman princes, the new vaſſals and protectors of the church.

The firſt coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a ſecond is performed, which is ſtill more ſo. An archbiſhop of Braga in Portugal,

tugal, a Limouſin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to conſecrate the emperor.

1118.

After the ceremony Henry goes to ſecure Tuſcany. Paſchal II. returns to Rome with a ſmall army belonging to the Norman princes: he dies, and the army goes home again, after having taken care to ſee itſelf well paid.

The cardinals of themſelves elect Caïetan, Gelaſus II. Cincio conſul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave ſword in hand, ſeizes the Pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him priſoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combuſtion. Henry V. goes thither; Gelaſus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limouſin Bourdin.

1119.

Gelaſus being dead at the couucil of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were at the council, conjunctly with the Roman biſhops, and even the laity who were preſent, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbiſhop of Vienne, ſon of a duke or Burgundy, and of the blood royal of France. This is not the firſt prince of elected Pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Lewis the Groſs, king of France, takes upon himſelf the office of mediator in that grand affair of the inveſtures between the empire and the church. A council is aſſembled at Rheims. The archbiſhop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horſeback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with the like number at the diſtance of half a league from town.

The

The emperor and Pope repair to Mouzon: they are on the very brink of accommodation, when a diſpute upon words ſets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120, 1121.

As there were in this council ſeveral German biſhops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other biſhops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to beſtow the inveſtitures.

1122.

At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the church is eſtabliſhed. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a miſunderſtanding. The queſtion was not to know if the emperors conferred the biſhoprick, but if they could inveſt with the imperial fiefs thoſe biſhops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided, that the inveſtitures for the future ſhould be conferred, not by the crook, but by the ſcepter and ring: but, what was much more important, the emperor, in expreſs terms, renounces the right of nominating to benefices thoſe whom he was bound to inveſt. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator concedo in omnibus eccleſiis fieri electionem & liberam conſecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123.

Domeſtic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alſace, and Holland. At this miſerable period there was nothing dut diſcord in the church, civil wars among the great, and ſlavery among the common people.

1124.

This is the firſt time that the affairs of England were intermingled with thoſe of the empire. Henry I. king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewiſe ſee that even then all the German noblemen did not ſecond the emperor in ſuch quarrels: ſeveral noblemen refuſe to aſſiſt him againſt a power, which, by its ſituation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs againſt the ſovereign paramount, juſt as the kings of England afterwards joined the great vaſſals of France.

1125.

The miſeries of Europe were crowned with a peſtilential diſeaſe, which attacks Henry V. who dies at Utrecht, May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural ſon, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbour, and a bad maſter.

LOTHARIUS II.

TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

1125, 1126, 1127.

THIS is a very ſingular æra. France, for the firſt time ſince the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger abbot of St. Dennis, and miniſter of ſtate to Lewis the Groſs, goes to the diet of Mentz with

with the retinue of a ſovereign, to oppoſe at leaſt the election of Frederick duke of Suabia. He ſucceeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooſes ten electors. Theſe ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius duke of Saxony, and the lords then preſent elevate him upon their ſhoulders.

Conrad duke of Franconia, of the houſe of Stauffen Suabia, and Frederick duke of Suabia, proteſt againſt this election. The abbot Suger was the firſt of the miniſters of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king at Spire; but, inſtead of ſupporting his faction, he goes to make himſelf king of Lombardy at Milan: his towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128, 1129.

Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holſtein, Germany, and Flanders.

1130.

At Rome the people ſtill pretended to elect popes in ſpite of the cardinals, who had reſerved that right to themſelves; and perſiſted in refuſing to acknowledge the perſon elected as their ſovereign, though they conſented to own him as their biſhop. Rome was totally divided into two factions; one elects Innocent II. the other chooſes the ſon or grandſon of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's ſon, as being richeſt, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which is now become the aſylum of oppreſſed popes. This Pope goes to Liege; engages Lotharius II. in his intereſt; crowns

him emperor, together with his wife; and excommunicates his competitors.

1131, 1132, 1133.

Conrad of Franconia the anti-emperor, and Anacletus the anti-pope, have a great faction in Italy. The emperor Lotharius and pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes ſubmit to the deciſion of Lotharius, who decides in favour of Innocent. The anti-pope retires to the caſtle of St. Angelo, which is ſtill in his poſſeſſion. Lotharius cauſes himſelf to be conſecrated by Innocent II. according to the then eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. One of theſe was, that the emperor ſhould firſt take an oath to preſerve the Pope's life and limbs. But he made the ſame promiſe to the emperor.

The Pope cedes the profits of the lands of the counteſs Mathilda to Lotharius and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in conſideration of an annual ſervice to the holy ſee.

This was ſowing wars for their ſucceſſors.

To facilitate the donation of theſe profits, Lotharius II. kiſſed the Pope's feet, and led his mule ſome paces. Lotharius is ſuppoſed to be the firſt emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134, 1135.

The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederick of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themſelves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians ſend thither ambaſſadors to demand juſtice againſt Roger king of Sicily; and there the ambaſſadors of the

the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preſerve Pomerania, of which they had made themſelves maſters.

1136.

Order and police are re-eſtabliſhed in Germany. Inheritance and cuſtoms of fiefs and under fiefs are ſettled. Magiſtracy, burgomaſters, mayors, and provoſts, are ſubjected to the the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, biſhopricks, and abbeys, are confirmed.

1137.

The emperor's journey to Italy. Roger duke of Apulia and new king of Sicily, eſpouſed the party of the antipope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Piſa was then very conſiderable in Europe, even above Venice and Genoa. Theſe three trading towns furniſhed almoſt the whole Weſt with all the delicacies of Aſia. They had erected themſelves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the deſolation of the feudal government filled almoſt every other place with miſery and ſervitude. The Piſans of themſelves equipped a fleet of forty gallies to aſſiſt the emperor, and without theſe he could not have ſtood his ground. It is reported that the firſt copy of the Digeſta was then found in Apulia, and preſented to the city of Piſa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in paſſing the Alps of the Tirol.

CONRAD III.

TWENTIETH AND FIRST EMPEROR.

1138.

HENRY, duke of Bavaria, ſurnamed the Proud, who poſſeſſed Saxony, Miſnia, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almoſt the whole eſtate of Mathilda, ſeized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raiſe him to the imperial throne; but this was the very circumſtance that prevented his ſucceſs.

All the noblemen unite in favour of Conrad, the ſame who had diſputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who ſeemed ſo powerful, is the third of that name who is put to the ban of the empire. He muſt have been ſtill more imprudent than proud, ſeeing he could ſcarce defend himſelf, notwithſtanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, thoſe who eſpouſed his party were called *Guelphs*, and this name was afterwards uſually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139.

Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, ſurnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenbourg; and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Auſtria. But Albert the Bear, finding himſelf unable to take poſſeſſion of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the houſe of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the houſe of Auſtria; but that whole diſpoſition hath ſince been changed.

1140.

1140.

Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother Guelph ſupports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger king of Sicily gives him a thouſand marks of ſilver. We ſee that the Norman princes are no ſooner become powerful in Italy, than they endeavour by all poſſible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederick Barbaroſſa, Conrad's nephew, ſo famous in the ſequel, already ſignalizes himſelf in this war.

From 1140 to 1146.

No period ever appeared more favourable for the emperors, to come and eſtabliſh at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always conteſted.

Arnold of Breſcia, a diſciple of Abelard, a man of an enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition, preached thro' all Italy againſt the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and perſuaded all thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to be perſuaded, eſpecially the Romans.

In 1144, under the ſhort pontificate of Lucius II. the Romans make another attempt to re-eſtabliſh the ancient republic; they augment the ſenate, elect as patrician a ſon of the anti-pope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches againſt them, and is killed at the foot of the Capitol.

Mean while, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on againſt the marquis of Auſtria, or becauſe the epidemical paſſion for the cruſades had already taken poſſeſſion of his mind.

1146.

1146.

St. Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, having preached the cruſade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany; but in what language did he preach it then? he did not underſtand the Teutonic, and he could not ſpeak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to theſe miracles; for he promiſed in the name of God that the enterprize would be crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The emperor takes the croſs at Spire, together with a good number of noblemen.

1147.

Conrad III. makes preparations for the cruſade, in the diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he cauſes his ſon Henry to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rotwell * is eſtabliſhed to try cauſes in the laſt appeal. This council was compoſed of twelve barons. The precedency was given as a fief to the houſe of Schultz, that is, on condition of

* This council, which is ſtill in force at Rotwell, an imperial town in Suabia, though deprived of its former authority, is compoſed of twelve gentlemen; or, in default of gentlemen, the members are choſen from among the citizens of Rotwell, and the preſident is the count de Schultz, to whoſe family that honour belongs in fief. Its juriſdiction extends over the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, Auſtria, and the Rhine. Nevertheleſs, the archbiſhops of Triers and Cologne, the archdukes of Auſtria, the knights of the Teutonic order, aud of the order of Malta, the ſubjects of the duke of Deux-ponts, and of the duke of Wirtemburg, the abbot of St. Blaire, the counts of Hanau, and ſome others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.*

fealty,

fealty, homage, and acknowledgment. Theſe kind of fiefs begin to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated biſhop of Friſingen, who has written the hiſtory of this period, together with thoſe of Ratiſbon, Paſſau, Baſil, Metz, and Toul. Frederic Barbaroſſa, the marquis of Auſtria, Henry duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montferrat, are the chief of thoſe princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the laſt who came to theſe expeditions which were at firſt ſo ſplendid, and ſoon after ſo unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jeruſalem was already erected; the ſtates of Antioch, Edeſſa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquiſſes of Galilee and Sidon were created; but the greateſt part of theſe conqueſts was loſt.

1148.

Intemperance deſtroys part of the German army. Hence aroſe the report that the Greek emperor had poiſoned the fountains, in order to deſtroy the cruſards.

Conrad and Lewis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After ſome battles againſt the Muſſulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, inſtead of making himſelf maſter of Damaſcus, which he afterwards beſieges in vain *. He returns almoſt without an army, in veſſels belonging to his brother-in-law Manuel Comnenus, and goes

* The beſieged made a furious ſally, and were bravely oppoſed by the emperor in perſon, who with one ſtroke cleft a Turk through the middle, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of the enemy, who at ſight of this exploit fled with great precipitation.

aſhore

aſhore in the gulph of Venice, not daring to go to Italy, much leſs to preſent himſelf at Rome for his coronation.

1148, 1149.

The loſs of thoſe prodigious armies of cruſards, in the country where Alexander had with forty thouſand men ſubdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks, proves to demonſtration, that in theſe enterprizes of the Chriſtians there was ſome radical vice by which they were neceſſarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of courſe by diſunion, diſorder, and indiſcretion.

The only reaſonable cruſade of thoſe times was that of ſome Flemiſh and Engliſh noblemen, but chiefly conſiſting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weſer, who embarked for the relief of Spain, ſtill uſurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for aſſiſtance; and it was certainly more reaſonable to aſſiſt Spain againſt uſurpers, than to go to Jeruſalem, to which they had no pretenſion, and where there was nothing to be got. The cruſards took Liſbon, and gave it to king Alphonſus.

There was another cruſade raiſed againſt the Pagans of the North; for the ſpirit of the Chriſtians of thoſe times, was to go and fight thoſe who were not of their religion. The biſhops of Magdebourg, Halberſtadt, Munſter, Merſburg, and Brandenburg, together with ſeveral abbots, excited this cruſade. They march with an army of ſixty thouſand men to convert the *Slaves*, who inhabited Pomerania, Pruſſia, and the

the coaſts of the Baltick. This cruſade was ſet on foot without conſulting the emperor, and even turns againſt him.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had diveſted of Bavaria, was at the head of the cruſade againſt the Pagans, whom, however, he ſoon left in tranquility, to go and attack the Chriſtians, and retake Bavaria.

1150.

All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Paleſtine, was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of the Holy War. He finds it very difficult, with the aſſiſtance of the Bavarians and the reſt of Germany, to reſtrain Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

1151.

Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his ſon.

FREDERICK I.

Surnamed BARBAROSSA.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1152.

FREDERICK I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous conſent of all the princes. His ſecretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are ſtill preſerved, reports that on this occaſion ſeveral noblemen of Lombardy gave their

their votes in theſe terms: "O you officiates, (*officiati*) if you conſent, Frederick ſhall have the force of his empire."

Thoſe *officiates* were then ſix in number; the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologn, were the three chancellors. There was the great maſter of the horſe, the great ſteward, the great chamberlain; and ſince that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that thoſe *officiati* were the firſt who acknowledged the elected emperor, who ſignified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were preſent at this election of Frederick. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman empire was given, when they gave the crown of Germany; although the king was not called emperor, till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbaroſſa's predeceſſor had poſſeſſed no authority either in Rome or in Italy; and it was for the intereſt of the perſon elected, that the great vaſſals of the Roman empire ſhould add their ſuffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbiſhop of Cologn crowns him at Aix-la-Chapelle; and all the biſhops give him to underſtand that he does not poſſes the empire by right of inheritance. This advertiſement was ſuperfluous; the ſon of the laſt emperor, whom they abandoned, was a ſufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great impoſition. Two competitors, Sueno and Canute, had long diſputed the kingdom of Denmark; Frederick makes himſelf umpire, and compels Canute to relinquiſh his right. Sueno does homage

homage to the empire for Denmark in the city of Merſburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is inveſted by the ſword. Thus, in the midſt of ſo many troubles, we ſee the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark, at the foot of the imperial throne.

1153.

The marquiſate of Auſtria is erected into a duchy, in favour of Henry Jaſamergot, who is ſcarce known, and whoſe poſterity is extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the houſe of Guelph, obtains the inveſtiture of Bavaria, which he had almoſt wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partizan of Frederick Barbaroſſa, as he had been an inveterate enemy to Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. ſends two legates to proſecute the archbiſhop of Mentz, who is accuſed of having diſſipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the proceſs.

1154.

In return for which condeſcenſion, Frederick Barbaroſſa repudiates his wife Mary of Vocburg or Vochenburg, without incurring the diſpleaſure of pope Adrian IV. who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155.

Frederick reſumes the deſigns of his predeceſſor upon Italy. He reduces ſeveral towns of Lombardy, which wanted to become republics; but Milan reſiſts all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, ſon of Conrad III. ſeizes the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, is crowned at Pavia, and ſends deputies to deſire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This

This pope is a great example of what may be done by perſonal merit and good fortune; born an Engliſhman, ſon of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himſelf, ſtrolling from country to country, before he could be received as a ſervant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raiſed to the pinnacle of greatneſs, he had ſo much the more elevation of ſpirit, as he had raiſed himſelf from the moſt abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vaſſal, but afraid of giving himſelf a maſter. The preceding troubles had introduced a cuſtom, that when the emperor came to be conſecrated, the pope and people fortified themſelves, and the emperor began by ſwearing that his holineſs ſhould be neither killed, multilated, nor deſpoiled.

The holy ſee was protected, as we have ſeen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who was become a dangerous neighbour, though a vaſſal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, ſhut up in the fortreſs of Citta di Caſtello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and ſwears to him on the evangeliſts, that his life and limbs ſhall be ſafe; and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Breſcia, who had excited the Roman people againſt the pontificate, and well nigh eſtabliſhed the Roman republic. Arnold is burned at Rome as an heretic; and a republican ſacrificed by two ſovereigns, who pretended to deſpotic power.

The pope viſits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead his white mule for the

the ſpace of nine Roman ſpaces. The emperor made no ſcruple to kiſs the feet: but he refuſed to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Citta di Caſtello, as if Frederick Barbaroſſa had given the ſignal for a civil war. He was given to underſtand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Chriſtian humility: to which at length he ſubmits, and miſtaking the ſtirrup, ſays he had not yet learned the buſines of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened, ſince ſo many towns in Italy had ſounded the trumpet of liberty, come and ſay to Frederick; "We have made you our citizen and prince, ſtranger as you are, &c." Frederick commands them to be ſilent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your maſter, &c.

Frederick is conſecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was ſo little known, and all the pretenſions were ſo contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been ſhed, becauſe the people had crowned the emperor without the order of the ſenate and people: and, on the other hand, pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred upon Frederick the benefice of the Roman empire, *beneficium imperii Romani*. The word *beneficium* then ſignified a fief.

He moreover expoſes in public a picture repreſenting Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands claſped between thoſe of the pontif, the diſtinguiſhing

mark of vaſſalage. The inſcription of the picture was thus,

Rex venit ante fores, jurans priùs urbis honores:
Poſt, homo fit papæ; ſumit, quo dante, coronam.

"The king comes to the door, previouſly ſwearing he will maintain the honours of the city: then he becomes the vaſſal of the pope, from whoſe bounty he receives the crown."

1156

We ſee Frederick already very powerful in Germany: for, at his return, he cauſed the count Palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet for miſdemeanours. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was, that the delinquent ſhould carry a dog upon his ſhoulders a German mile. The archbiſhop of Mentz is condemned to the ſame ridiculous puniſhment: but they are ſpared the mortification. The emperor cauſes ſeveral ſmall caſtles belonging to banditti to be demoliſhed. He marries at Wirtzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is of Franche Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157.

The Poles refuſe to pay their tribute, which was then fixed at five hundred marks of ſilver. Frederick marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hoſtage, ſubmits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederick repairs to Beſançon, now become his own demeſne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes. He complains to the legates, with

with great haughtineſs, of the term Benefice, uſed by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire; and of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was repreſented as a vaſſal of the holy ſee. This haughtineſs was juſtified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having ſaid: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count Palatine, by way of anſwer, would have put them to death: however, the emperor ſends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbiſhop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbiſhop's juriſdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is ſtill extant. The ſeal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of ſealing, that the name of bull has been given to conſtitutions.

1158.

The emperor grants the title of king to Uladiſlaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch; and a perſon was king by the emperor's favour, although his dominions were not a kingdom; ſo that in theſe beginnings we ſometimes find kings, and ſometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy; and, at firſt, the count Palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who muſt not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of ſeveral towns, which oaths were conceived in theſe terms: "I ſwear I will always be faithful to

my lord the emperor Frederick againſt all his enemies, &c." As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Beſançon, theſe oaths ſeem to have been exacted againſt the holy ſee.

It does not appear, that the popes were then ſovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commiſſaries exerciſe all the rights of ſovereignity in the March of Ancona.

Adrian IV. ſends new legates to the emperor at Augſburg, where he aſſembles his army. Frederick marches to Milan. This was already the moſt powerful town of Lombardy, in compariſon with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconſiderable. It had made itſelf free ſince the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulneſs of its territory, but, above all things, in conſequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it ſent to offer him money for the preſervation of its liberty. But Frederick wanted both money and ſubmiſſion. The town is beſieged, and defends itſelf. The conſuls, in a little time, capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay 9000 marks of ſilver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederick begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing, that every town convicted of tranſgreſſing theſe laws ſhall pay 100 marks of gold,

gold, a marquis ſhall pay 50, a count 40, and a lord of the manor 20. He likewiſe ordains that no fief ſhall be divided: and as the vaſſals, in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, ſwore to ſerve them, without diſtinction, againſt every perſon whatſoever; he decrees, that in theſe oaths the emperor ſhall always be excepted. A law wiſely contrived, and contrary to the feudal cuſtoms of France, by which a vaſſal was obliged to ſerve his lord in war, even againſt the king.

The Genoeſe and Piſans had long ago wreſted Corſica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and ſtill diſputed the poſſeſſion with each other. A proof that they were very powerful. But Frederick, more powerful than they, ſends commiſſaries to theſe two cities, and becauſe he is thwarted by the Genoeſe, makes them pay a fine of a thouſand marks of ſilver, and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He re-eſtabliſhes order in the fiefs of the counteſs Mathilda, no part of which was poſſeſſed by the popes; and gives them to one Guelph, couſin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's ſon, is forgot. At this period, the univerſity of Bologna, the firſt of all the European univerſities, began to be eſtabliſhed, and the emperor beſtows privileges upon it.

1159.

Frederick I. began to be more maſter in Italy than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by ſupporting the prerogatives of the Roman ſenators, and ſtill more

by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV. the better to preſerve his temporalities, attacks Frederick Barbaroſſa with ſpiritual weapons. The queſtion is no longer about inveſtitures performed with a crooked or ſtreight ſtaff, but about the oath, which the biſhops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as ſacrilege, and, in the mean time, inflames the people by underhand inſinuations.

The Milaneſe take this opportunity to recover a ſmall ſhare of liberty. Frederick orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the empire; and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder, and their perſons to ſlavery; an ordinance, which reſembles an order of Attilla, rather than the conſtitution of a Chriſtian emperor.

Adrian IV. ſnatches this opportunity of trouble, to re-demand all the fiefs of the counteſs Mathilda, the dutchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corſica. The emperor will give him nothing. He beſieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has ſome reſpite, and for ſome time enjoys the happineſs of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160.

After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III. a declared enemy to the emperor: the other chooſes Octavian his partiſan, who calls himſelf Victor. Frederick Barbaroſſa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, ſummons a council at Pavia, to decide

cide between the two competitors. Alexander refuſes to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favour. The emperor kiſſes his feet, and leads his horſe, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnani, excommunicates the emperor, and abſolves his ſubjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the aſſiſtance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161.

The Milaneſe take advantage of theſe diviſions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had ſeconded Milan, this was the moment to deliver that fine country for ever from a foreign yoke.

1162.

The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The Milaneſe, being blocked up, are in want of proviſions, and capitulate. The conſuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their ſwords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree, by which the citizens were condemned to ſervitude, and their town to plunder; but as ſoon as he enters it, on the 27th of March, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices, to be demoliſhed, and the ruins to be ſowed with ſalt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards, had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoeſe, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance; and while they proteſt they will not pay annual tribute, give him 1200 marks of ſilver: they promiſe to equip a fleet to aſſiſt the emperor in conquering

Sicily and Apulia; and Frederick gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto-venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan; and though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be dismantled. Every thing submits to his power.

Mean while the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederick Barbarossa complete, his enemy pope Alexander III. flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederick goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France, and detach him from Alexander's party,

It is in the zenith of his power, that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary, to come at his order, and give their votes in a diet against a pope. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, obeys and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others alledge he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case, he was the last king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important year.

1163.

The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbishop: he orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164.

1164.

Erfort, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbiſhop of Mentz pretended to be lord of ſince Otho I. is ſurrounded with walls, at the very time when thoſe of Mentz are deſtroyed.

The eſtabliſhment of the ſociety of hans-towns. This union had begun at Hamburg and Lubeck, which carried on ſome trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy: they ſoon became uſeful and powerful in furniſhing at leaſt the neceſſaries of life to the North of Germany; and ſince that time, when Lubeck, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederick Barbaroſſa, and the firſt of the maritime towns: when it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the beſt coined in all that country, where till that time none had been ſtruck, but of a very baſe allay. Hence the money called Sterling, or Eſterling, is ſuppoſed to have been derived; and hence London counted by pounds ſterling, when it was aſſociated with the hans-towns.

The ſame thing happens to the emperor which had happened to all his predeceſſors. Leagues are formed againſt him in Italy, while he himſelf is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its ſituation, is formidable for its wealth: it had acquired great riches in the cruſades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no ſhare, except as dextrous merchants.

Frederick returns to Italy and ravages the Veroneſe, which belonged to the league: his pope Victor dies: he cauſes another to be conſecrated

ſecrated by a biſhop of Liege in contempt of all laws. This uſurper takes the name of Paſchal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs: one of theſe, who had amaſſed wealth, comes and demands the title of King from Frederick, and actually receives it: he trebles the taxes every-where, and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165.

A diet at Wurtzburg againſt Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and biſhops, that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people againſt the pretenſions of the church of Rome.

Frederick, in order to make his pope Paſchal more conſiderable, cauſes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not ſo. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiouſly augmented his dominions, the emperor is not ſorry to ſee a confederacy in Germany againſt that prince. A bold and enterpriſing archbiſhop of Cologn joins with ſeveral other biſhops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on againſt Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167.

1167.

The Piſans and Genoeſe plead at Lodi before the emperor for the poſſeſſion of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederick goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been ſolemnly ceded to the popes by ſo many emperors, and was inconteſtibly the patrimony of the church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inſpired by Frederick's deſpotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara and other towns, to unite with the Milaneſe. All theſe towns and the Romans took arms at the ſame time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tuſculum: it was commanded by an archbiſhop of Mentz, very famous in thoſe days, called Chriſtiern, and by the archbiſhop of Cologne. It was a ſtrange ſpectacle to ſee theſe two prieſts thundering out a German ſong to animate their troops to battle.

But what ſtrongly denoted the decay of Rome, the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederick then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks: he burns the town Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almoſt conſumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor cauſes himſelf to be crowned with the empreſs Beatrice, by his anti-pope Paſchal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

From thence Frederick marches back with great expedition againſt the confederate towns. The plague, by which his army is deſolated for ſome time, contributes to their ſafety. The

German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquiſhed by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

1168.

Alexander III. finds the ſecret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, and William king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks; ſo much did they think it was or their common intereſt to unite againſt Barbaroſſa.

In effect, theſe two powers ſend money and ſome troops to the pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminiſhed, ſees the Milaneſe rebuild their walls under his very noſe, and almoſt all Lombardy in a conſpiracy againſt him: he retires towards the country of Morienne: the Milaneſe, emboldened, purſue him to the mountains: he eſcapes with great difficulty, and retreats to Alſace, while he is excommunicated by the pope.

Italy breathes again in conſequence of his retreat. The Milaneſe fortify themſelves; and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honour of the pope.

This year Lunenburg begins to be a town.

The biſhop of Wirtzburg obtains civil juriſdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in conſequence of this grant that his ſucceſſors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, couſin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto and the marquiſate of Tuſcany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by ſo many

many competitors, abandoned to itſelf and its bailiffs, one of whom called himſelf King.

1169.

Frederic cauſes his eldeſt ſon Henry to be elected king of the Romans, while he himſelf is on the brink of loſing Rome and Italy for ever.

Some months after, he cauſes his ſecond ſon Frederick to be elected duke of Germany, and ſecures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederick had given all Germany to this ſon; but it was no more than antient Germany, properly ſo called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170.

Frederick is no longer recogniſable. Inſtead of going to fight, he negotiates with the Pope. His armies and his treaſure were then diminiſhed.

The Danes take Stetin. Henry the Lion, inſtead of aſſiſting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the croſs with the Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Paleſtine.

1171.

Henry the Lion, finding a truce eſtabliſhed in Aſia, returns by the way of Egypt. The ſultan had a mind to aſtoniſh Europe by his magnificence and generoſity: he loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with preſents, and, among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horſes.

1172.

At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands aſſiſtance from Germany to reduce Italy under his power.

He begins by ſending a ſmall army commanded by that ſame archbiſhop of Mentz, who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Piſa; Genoa hated Piſa and Florence; and by theſe diviſions Italy was loſt.

Chriſtiern, archbiſhop of Mentz, dextrouſly ſucceeds in detaching the Venetians from the league; but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna, are unſhaken, and Rome ſupports them.

Mean while Frederick is obliged to go and appeaſe the troubles in Bohemia, where he depoſes Ladiſlaus, and gives the regency to the ſon of that prince. He could not be more abſolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other ſide of the Alps.

1174.

At length he paſſes Mount Cenis; beſieges that Alexandria which was built in his abſence, and the name of which was odious to him; and begins by ſignifying to the inhabitants, that, if they would have the preſumption to defend themſelves, he would ſpare neither age nor ſex.

1175.

The Alexandrians, aſſiſted by the confederate towns, make a ſally upon the Imperaliſts, whom they defeat, in imitation of the Milaneſe. The emperor's diſgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry the Lion, who retires with the Saxons, very ill diſpoſed towards Barbaroſſa, who kept for himſelf the lands of Mathilda.

Italy

Italy then ſeemed to be upon the eve of being freed for ever.

1176.

Frederick receives reinforcements from Germany. The archbiſhop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops.

The war is puſhed with great vivacity on both ſides. The Milaneſe infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial houſhold troops. Frederick eſcapes with difficulty from the purſuit of the conquerors; he conceals himſelf, and at length takes ſhelter in Pavia.

This victory * was the ſignal of the liberty of the Italians for ſeveral years: they could then be hurt by none but themſelves. The haughty Frederick anticipates at laſt, and ſolicites pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Anigni, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no maſter, and of the emperor, who wanted to be maſter.

Frederick offers him his aſſiſtance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to reſtore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of the counteſs Mathilda. A congreſs is aſſembled at Bologna.

* About the ſame time he was defeated at ſea by the Venetians, and his eldeſt ſon Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. The pope, in honour of this victory, ſailed out into the open ſea, accompanied by the whole ſenate; and after having pronounced a thouſand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring, as a mark of his gratitude and affection. This is the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of eſpouſing the Adriatic ſea.

1177.

The pope cauſes the congreſs to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ſhips of the king of Sicily. The ambaſſadors of Sicily, and the deputies of the Lombard towns, are the firſt who go thither. Chriſtiern, archbiſhop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which ought to have ſecured the repoſe of the popes, and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for ſix years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no queſtion about the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, which had been the baſis of the treaty.

Every thing being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St. Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's ſtaff in his hand.

The pope preaches in Latin, which Frederick did not underſtand. After ſermon, the emperor comes and kiſſes the pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the ſquare of St. Mark, when he comes from church: and Alexander III. cries aloud, "It hath pleaſed God that an old man and a prieſt ſhould triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was ſworn upon the evangeliſts by twelve princes of the empire. Theſe treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauſes. The oaths were ſufficient. Few of the German princes could read, or ſign their

their names, and the pen was ſeldom uſed but at Rome. This period reſembles thoſe ſavage times called heroic.

Nevertheleſs, they exact from the emperor a particular act, ſealed with his own ſeal, by which he promiſes not to diſturb the towns of Italy for ſix years.

1178.

How durſt Frederick Barbaroſſa, after that, paſs through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as ſlaves? thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles harraſſed that vaſt, warlike, powerful, and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, maſter of Saxony and Bavaria, ſtill made war upon ſeveral biſhops, as the emperor had warred againſt the pope.

He ſunk like him, and even by means of the emperor himſelf.

The archbiſhop of Cologne, aſſiſted by one half of Weſtphalia, the archbiſhop of Magdeburg, and a biſhop of Hablerſtadt, were oppreſſed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the miſchief in their power. Almoſt all Germany embraced their party.

1179.

Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the diet of Goſlar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lubeck to the middle of Weſtphalia. He had beſides Bavaria, Stiria, and Carinthia.

rinthia. His enemy, the archbiſhop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vaſſals of the empire who bring troops to the archbiſhop of Cologne, we ſee one Philip count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, *&c.* This circumſtance might make one believe, that what is properly called Flanders, always conſidered itſelf as a member of the empire, although a part of France; ſuch uncertainty attends the feodal right.

Duke Henry defends himſelf in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Heſſe, and defeats the army of the archbiſhop.

The greateſt part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war; the natural effect of the fœdal government. It is even ſtrange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

1180.

After various ſucceſs, the emperor holds a diet in the caſtle of Gelnhauſen near the Rhine. There the proſcription of Henry the Lion is renewed and confirmed. There Frederick gives Saxony to Bernard d'Anhalt, ſon of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewiſe part of Weſtphalia. The houſe of Anhalt muſt then have become the moſt powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho count of Vitelſbach, chief of the emperor's court of juſtice. From this Otho Vitelſbach are deſcended the two electoral houſes of Bavaria, which after ſo many misfortunes ſtill ſubſiſt. They owe their greatneſs to Frederick Barbaroſſa.

As ſoon as thoſe noblemen were inveſted, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himſelf at the head of the army.

1181.

They take from duke Henry Luneburg, of which he was maſter; they attack Lubeck, of which he was protector; and Waldemar king of Denmark aſſiſts the emperor in the ſiege.

Lubeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, ſurrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permiſſion to coin money.

Duke Henry being no longer able to reſiſt, goes and throws himſelf at the feet of the emperor, who promiſes to maintain him in poſſeſſion of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, the remains of ſo many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife to his father-in-law king Henry II. She brings him a ſon called Otho, who was afterwards emperor, under the mame of Otho IV. and from a brother of this Otho IV. are deſcended the princes who now reign in England. So that the dukes of Brunſwick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182.

Germany is then quiet. Frederick aboliſhes ſeveral barbarous cuſtoms; among others, that of plundering the moveables of the dead; an horrible right, which all the citizens of the towns exerciſed at the deceaſe of a burgher, at the expence of his heirs; and which always produced bloody quarrels, though moveables at that time were of ſmall importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and reſpire new life.

The Romans ſtill perſiſt in the notion of withdrawing themſelves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome pope Lucius III. the ſucceſſor of Alexander.

The ſame Chriſtiern, archbiſhop of Mentz, ſtill the emperor's general, marches with an army to the aſſiſtance of the pope, but dies at Tuſculum.

The ſenate lords it in Rome. Some clerks, ſuppoſed to be ſpies from Pope Lucius III. are ſent back to him without their eyes. A piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183.

Frederick I. declares Ratiſbon an imperial town. He detaches Tirol from Bavaria, and likewiſe diſmembers it of Stiria, which he erects into a duchy.

The celebrated congreſs held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commiſſaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even thoſe of Venice were preſent. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vaſſals of Italy; and that they are obliged to march to his aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition,

They ſtipulate that the towns and the vaſſals ſhall furniſh the emperor in his paſſage with nothing but ordinary forage, and proviſions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in cauſes to the amount of fifty marks of ſilver, and that no cauſe ſhall ever be reheard in Germany.

If in theſe towns the biſhop has the title of count, he ſhall preſerve the right of electing conſuls in his epiſcopal town; and if the biſhop is not in poſſeſſion of that right, it is reſerved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long conſidered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaſpina and the counts of Crema are therein ſpecially named, and the emperor tranſacts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice ſigned this treaty only for the fiefs they poſſeſſed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any ſuch compromiſe.

1184.

A great diet at Mentz, where the emperor again cauſes his ſon Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two ſons Henry and Frederick: he is the firſt emperor who thus knighted his ſons with the ceremonies then uſed. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiſs and cuff in a tunic: his ſpurs were buckled on by knights: he dedicated his ſword to God and the ſaints: he was cloathed with an epitoge or looſe robe: but what was the moſt whimſical part of the farce, he was ſerved at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulſion from Rome, and there a ſmall council was held.

The

The queſtion was not to re-eſtabliſh Lucius at Rome. The ſubject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The Pope likewiſe refuſed to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and cauſes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

1185.

The pope, who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the ſubject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederic. The king of Sardinia is the ſon of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He ſeizes ſome towns, of which the popes were ſtill in poſſeſſion. Lucius III. almoſt ſtripped of every thing, dies at Verona; and Frederic, tho' the pope's conqueror, cannot be ſovereign in Rome.

1186.

The emperor at Milan Feb. 6, marries his ſon king Henry to Conſtance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II. king of Naples and Sicily, and granddaughter of Roger I. of that name. She was preſumptive heireſs of that fine kingdom; and this marriage was productive of the moſt tedious and dreadful misfortunes.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the cuſtom which one Bertrand biſhop of Metz introduced, of having archives in every town to regiſter the deeds and writings of private eſtates. Before that time, every thing was proved by evidence only, and almoſt all diſputes were decided by combat. 1187.

1187.

Pomerania, which after having belonged to the Poles, became vaſſal of the empire, and paid a ſlight tribute, is ſubdued by Canute king of Denmark, and becomes a vaſſal to the Danes. Sleſwick, formerly holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itſelf formerly held of Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederick Barbaroſſa, heretofore ſo great and powerful, had nothing now but the ſhadow of authority in Italy, and ſaw the power of Germany greatly diminiſhed.

He retrieves his reputation, in preſerving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his ſubjects had depoſed.

The Genoeſe build a fort at Monaco, and make the acquiſition of Gavi.

Great troubles in Savoy. The emperor Frederic declares againſt the count of Savoy, detaches ſeveral fiefs from that country, and among others, the biſhoprics of Turin and Geneva. The biſhops of theſe towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the biſhops and counts of Geneva.

1188.

Saladin, the greateſt man of his time, having retaken Jeruſalem from the Chriſtians, pope Clement III. cauſes a new cruſade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can ſcarce conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederic to march towards Paleſtine, and at the age of ſixty-eight renew an enter-

enterprize concerning which a wiſe prince ought to have been by this time diſabuſed: What ſtrongly marks the character of the times, he ſends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner, Jeruſalem and the true croſs.

We here ſee a remarkable example of the ſpirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry *the Lion*, in the emperor's abſence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been deſpoiled. He is obliged to ſwear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He ſwears, and his oath is believed.

1189.

Frederick Barbaroſſa, with his ſon Frederick duke of Suabia, marches through Auſtria and Hungary with above a hundred thouſand cruſards. If he could have led ſuch an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The firſt enemies he finds are the Chriſtian Greeks of the empire of Conſtantinople. The Greek emperor and the cruſards had always found ſubject of complaint againſt one another.

The emperor of Conſtantinople was Iſaacus Angelus. He refuſes to give the title of Emperor to Frederick, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he ſignifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a paſſage, he muſt give hoſtages. We ſee in the conſtitutions of Goldaſt the letters of theſe two emperors. Iſaacus Angelus gives Frederick no other title than that of advocate of the Roman church. Frederick by way of anſwer calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are aſtoniſhed at the epithets given

given to one another by Homer's heroes in times ſtill more heroic!

1190.

Frederick having opened the paſſage ſword in hand defeats the ſultan of Iconium, takes his city, paſſes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague * after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatneſs, and a memory much more dear to Germany than to Italy.

He is ſaid to have been buried in Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the aſhes of an emperor who made ſo much noiſe in his life-time. His ſucceſs in Aſia muſt have been much leſs ſolid than ſhining; for his ſon Frederick of Suabia had no more than an army of about ſeven or eight thouſand fighting men left out of above an hundred thouſand who arrived in thoſe parts.

The ſon ſoon died of the plague like his father; and nobody remained in Aſia but Leopold duke of Auſtria with a few knights. Thus terminated every cruſade.

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* Barre ſays expreſly, that he was drowned in the river Cydnus, and that his body was buried at Tyre. This is the ſame river into which Alexander the Great, plunging when he was warm, was ſeized with a ſudden chillneſs, which produced a dangerous fever: In all probability Barbaroſſa owed his death to the ſame cauſe; being an expert ſwimmer, he ventured to bathe in the river while warm, and the extreme coldneſs of its water, (for which it is remarkable) ſuddenly checking the perſpiration, excited a fever, which proved fatal, becauſe perhaps, he had not a phyſician equal in ſkill to Philip the Macedonian.

HENRY VI.

TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1190.

HENRY VI. already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry *the Lion*, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who poſſeſſed ſo many towns, and very little regarded the oath he took to abſtain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holſtein, and his party was eſpouſed by the biſhops, particularly the biſhop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verden, and is conqueror. At laſt peace is made with that prince, who was ſo often proſcribed and ſo often in arms. He is left in poſſeſſion of Brunſwick after it is diſmantled. He divides with the count of Holſtein the title of lord of Lubeck, which ſtill continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI. having ſecured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct poſſeſſor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the reſt.

1191.

He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all deſirous of ſeeing that king-

kingdom, which had become flouriſhing in ſo little a time, a ſubjected province of Germany. The blood of thoſe French gentlemen who had by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elected Tancred, ſon of prince Roger, and grandſon of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many baſtards have before him inherited the greateſt kingdoms? Beſides, the will of the people and election ſeem the firſt of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoeſe about furniſhing a fleet with which he may go and diſpute Apuglia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himſelf. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favour. He behaves reſpectfully to Pope Celeſtin III. an old man turned of fourſcore, who, tho' not a prieſt, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes, in thoſe days, was performed in this manner; as ſoon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cope. They were conducted to a ſtone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium:* then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were preſented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; from thence to a third pulpit, where he was preſented with a ſilken girdle, and a purſe with twelve ſtones, in imitation of the ephod of the high prieſt of the Jews. It is not known at what period theſe cuſtoms began.

gan. Thus was Celeſtin exalted before he was a prieſt.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt on Eaſter-eve, next day he is conſecrated biſhop, and the day after, conſecrates Henry VI. with the empreſs Conſtance.

Roger de Hoveden, an Engliſhman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was ſet up again by the cardinals. He miſtakes an accident for a ceremony *. It has been likewiſe ſuppoſed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favourable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, reſtores to him the ancient town of Tuſculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whoſe municipal government ſtill ſubſiſted. The Romans demoliſhed it entirely: in this particular they ſeem to have adopted the deſtructive ſpirit of the Goths and Heruli who ſettled among them.

Nevertheleſs, old Celeſtin III. as Paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vaſſal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conqueſt: a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, ſeeing

* Who told M. de Voltaire that this was an accident? It was ſuch an inſtance of inſolence as cardinal Pandulpho afterwards exhibited to John, king of England, at Dover, with a view to demonſtrate the dependence of that kingdom on the ſee of Rome.

he

he could not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Diſeaſes always deſtroy the German troops in hot and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Conſtance the emperor's wife is at Salerno delivered to king Tancred, who generouſly ſends her back to her huſband.

1192.

The emperor poſtpones his enterprize upon Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the houſe of the Guelphs.

The eſtabliſhment of the knights of the Teutonic order, deſtined at firſt for the ſervice of the ſick in Paleſtine, and ſince become conquerors. The firſt houſe they have in Germany, is built at Coblentz.

Henry *the Lion* renews his pretenſions, and reſumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony, or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holſtein, and loſes all that he had left elſewhere.

1193.

At that time Saladine the great, drove all the Chriſtians from Syria. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the reſt *. He was upon bad terms with the

* Richard's generoſity in this expedition was equal to his valour; for, in order to compromiſe the difference between Guy de Luzignan and Conrad, who diſputed the crown of Jeruſalem, he preſented the firſt with the kingdom of Cyprus, which he had conquered in his voyage to Paleſtine,

the emperor, and upon worſe with Leopold duke of Auſtria, on account of a childiſh quarrel about a point of honour, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the Eaſt. He paſſes through the duke's territories; and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Cruſards, contrary to the reſpect due to royalty, and contrary to the honour and law of nations.

The duke of Auſtria delivers his priſoner to the emperor. Eleonora wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion* *, finding herſelf unable to revenge, offers to ranſom her huſband. This ranſom is ſaid to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and conſidering the ſcarcity of money and the price of proviſions, that ſum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time †. Hiſtorians perhaps have

Paleſtine. Being, after many ſignal exploits, deſerted by Philip Auguſtus, and other European allies, he concluded a truce for three years with Saladine, on condition that Aſcalon ſhould be demoliſhed, that the Chriſtians ſhould fortify Joppa, and occupy all the places on the ſea coaſt.

* She was his mother.

† Computing the mark at eight ounces of ſilver, and each ounce at five ſhillings, the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, amounts to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. That the ranſom of Richard could not be leſs than this ſum, may be judged from the following circumſtances. Every military tenant was, by the feudal law, and the nature of his tenure, obliged to give aid for the ranſom of his lord from captivity. This ſoccage was raiſed in England, together with a talliage or hydage upon cities, boroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands, by eſcheat. Beſides theſe, great ſums were raiſed from the voluntary contributions of the people, zealous for the king's releaſe. The parochial clergy granted one

have taken one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, *(marcas)* for an hundred and fifty thouſand marks, which were no more than half livres. Theſe miſtakes are but too common.

Whatever the ranſom was, the emperor Henry VI. who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as baſely, as he had unjuſtly detained Richard. It is likewiſe ſaid that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed! Richard would have been far from deſerving the ſirname of *Cœur de Lion*, if he had ſtooped to ſuch abject ſubmiſſion.

A biſhop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchaſes his inveſtiture from Henry VI. for a ſum of money.

Henry *the Lion*, now ſeventy years of age, marries his ſon, who bears the title of count of Brunſwick, to Agnes daughter of Conrad count Palatine the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of Brunſwick: this marriage, to which the emperor conſents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies ſoon after, leaving Brunſwick at leaſt to his deſcendants.

1194.

It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ranſomed king Richard, and inveſted the epiſcopal king of Bohemia, on purpoſe to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily.

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one tenth of their tythes; the biſhops, abbots, and nobility, freely parted with a fourth of their income; the ceſtertians gave up all their revenue of wool for one year; the pariſhes melted down their ſacred chalices; the cathedrals and monaſteries ſold their plate and treaſures to the amount of thirty thouſand marks, on promiſe of being reimburſed after the king's return.

Tancred, his competitor, dies. The people chooſe his ſon William, though an infant, in his room; a plain proof that it was not ſo much Tancred as the nation which diſputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoeſe furniſh Henry with the fleet they had promiſed, and to this the Piſans add twelve galleys. The emperor with theſe forces furniſhed by the Italians to enſlave Italy, appears before Naples, which ſurrenders; and, while he is beſieging Palermo and Catanea in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being ſhut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms, on condition that her ſon William ſhall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, an hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the houſe of Suabia.

The Genoeſe demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the reſtitution of ſome lands, as therein ſtipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by king Roger. Henry VI. anſwers to this effect: "When you ſhall have convinced me that you are really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vaſſals, I will keep the promiſe I have made." Then, joining the moſt atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman: he orders William, the ſon of Tancred, to be caſtrated and ſent priſoner to Caire, where his eyes are put out. The queen his mother and her daughters are conducted to Germany, and ſhut up in a convent of Alſace.

Henry

Henry carries off part of the treaſure which had been amaſſed by the kings. And mankind allow ſuch men to rule them!

1195.

Henry of Brunſwick, ſon of the Lion, obtains the palatinate after the death of the Palatine Conrad his father-in-law.

A new cruſade is publiſhed at Worms. Henry VI. promiſes to go and fight for Jeſus Chriſt.

1196.

The zeal of thoſe ultramarine voyages increaſed by misfortune, juſt as religions have been ſtrengthened by perſecution. A ſiſter of Philip Auguſtus king of France, widow of Bela king of Hungary, puts herſelf at the head of the German cruſards, and goes to Paleſtine to experience the fate of all thoſe who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the cruſard army to march into Italy, where it could be more uſeful to him than at Jeruſalem.

1197.

This is one of the moſt curious and intereſting points of hiſtory. The great Belgic chronicle relates, that Henry not only cauſed his ſon Frederick II. a child in the cradle, to be elected by two and fifty noblemen or biſhops; but likewiſe declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily ſhould be incorporated for ever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make ſuch laws, he made them without doubt; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panorma imports, that he reunited Sicily to the empire: but the popes ſoon rendered that reunion ineffectual; and at his death

it plainly appeared that the right of election was ſtill dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Mean while Henry VI. marches to Naples over land: all the noblemen of that country were incenſed againſt him, and a general inſurrection was to be feared: he ſtrips them of their fiefs: which he beſtows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Deſpair forms the conſpiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One count Jordani, of the houſe of the Norman princes, puts himſelf at the head of the people: he is delivered up to the emperor, who cauſes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity: he is tied naked on a chair of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198.

Then the emperor allows the reſt of the German cruſards to depart. They land in Cyprus. The biſhop of Wurtzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Luſignan, who choſe rather to be a vaſſal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This ſame Emeri de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, marries Iſabella daughter of the laſt king of Jeruſalem; and from hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jeruſalem, which ſeveral ſovereigns have diſputed in Europe.

The German cruſards meet with various fortune in Aſia. In the mean time Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a ſmall number of troops; and this ſecurity is the cauſe of his ruin: they conſpire at Naples and in Sicily againſt the tyrant: his own wife Conſtance is the

the ſoul of the conſpiracy. They betake themſelves to arms on all hands. Conſtance forſakes her cruel huſband, and puts herſelf at the head of the conſpirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the firſt ſtroke of the Sicilian veſpers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate with his wife: he dies, and, it is ſaid, of poiſon which his wife gave him; a crime perhaps excuſable in a woman who revenged her family and country, if poiſoning, and eſpecially poiſoning a huſband, can ever be juſtified.

PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1198.

AT firſt the noblemen and biſhops aſſembled at Arnſberg, in Thuringia, grant the adminiſtration of Germany to Philip duke of Suabia, uncle to Frederick II. a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederick II. but other noblemen, being incenſed to ſee an elective empire become hereditary, chooſe another king at Cologne; and elect the leaſt powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor called Bertold, duke of a ſmall part of Swiſſerland, ſoon renounced the vain honour which he could not maintain. Then the aſſembly of Cologne elect Otho duke of Brunſwick, ſon of Henry

the Lion. The electors were the duke of Lorrain, a count of Kuke, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the biſhops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were benedictine monks.

Philip muſt likewiſe be nominated emperor, and is elected at Erfort. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunſwick was in England; and Richard king of England, who had been ſo unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was juſtly the enemy of the houſe of Suabia, eſpouſed the party of Brunſwick; of conſequence Philip Auguſtus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to ſhake off the German yoke: they became daily more and more powerful; but even that power creates diviſions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunſwick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neuter between the competitors. Germany ſuffers all the miſchiefs of a civil war.

1199, 1200.

In theſe inteſtine troubles of Germany, nothing is ſeen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakneſs on all ſides: nevertheleſs Germany is ſtill called the Roman Empire.

The empreſs Conſtance ſtays in Sicily with her ſon prince Frederick. There ſhe was in peace; there ſhe was regent; and nothing could more plainly prove that ſhe had conſpired againſt her huſband Henry VI. than her retaining, in obedience to her ſon, thoſe very people who

who had taken arms againſt the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederick, loved the ſon of Conſtance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederick II. as the ſon of Henry VI. and, in all probability, he really was not; ſeeing his mother, when ſhe demanded for him the inveſtiture of Naples and Sicily of pope Celeſtin III. had been obliged to ſwear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous pope Innocent III. ſon of a count of Segni, having taken poſſeſſion of the papal chair, a new inveſtiture was required. Here begins a very ſingular quarrel, which, after the lapſe of above five hundered years, continues ſtill undetermined.

We have ſeen thoſe knights of Normandy, who became prince and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at firſt of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the Pope. When Roger, as yet no more than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that iſland, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he reſtored ſo many churches to the Roman communion, pope Urban II. ſolemnly granted him the power of the legates à latere, and of legates born of the holy ſee. Theſe legates judged all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the laſt appeal, conferred benefits, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy ſee, and really popes in their own kingdom: they had in reality the power of the two ſwords. This ſole privilege, which ſo many kings might have arrogated to themſelves, was no-where known but in Sicily. The ſucceſſors of pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good will or com-

pulſion. Celeſtin III. had not conteſted it: but Innocent III. oppoſed it; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and demanded that Conſtance would renounce it in the name of her ſon, and do liege, pure and ſimple homage for Sicily.

Conſtance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

1201.

Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor; but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: "By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and, after the uſual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown."

Philip Auguſtus king of France, partizan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the pope in favour of Philip; and Innocent III. anſwers: "Either Philip muſt loſe the empire, or I loſe the pontificate."

1202.

Innocent III. publiſhes a new cruſade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this cruſade that the Chriſtians of the Weſt took Conſtantinople, inſtead of aſſiſting the Holy Land; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203.

The northern parts of Germany became weak in theſe troubles. The Danes make themſelves maſters of Vandalia, which is part of Ruſſia and Pomerania. It is difficult to aſcertain its limits. Were there any limits then in thoſe barbarous

barous countries! Holſtein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204.

The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

1205.

Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is conſecrated at Aix by the archbiſhop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206.

Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the pope conſents to abandon him: he promiſes to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himſelf emperor, without the permiſſion of the holy ſee: he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his ſiſter in marriage to a nephew of his Holineſs, and beſtow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuſcany, and the marche of Ancona. Theſe are ſtrange propoſals: the marche of Ancona properly belonging to the holy ſee. Philip rejects the pope's propoſal, chooſing rather to be excommunicated, than to part with ſuch a dower: nevertheleſs, by releaſing an archbiſhop of Cologne, who was his priſoner, he obtains his abſolution without making the match.

1207.

Otho returns from England to Germany, where he appears ſeemingly without partizans, though doubtleſs he muſt have had private friends, ſeeing he did return.

1208.

Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, aſſaſſinates

aſſaſſinates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his eſcape very eaſily.

OTHO IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

OTHO, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The diet puts the aſſaſſin to the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: ſome time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209.

Otho IV. ſtill more to corroborate his intereſt, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges thoſe which have been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III. "We will yield you that obedience which our predeceſſors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in poſſeſſion of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered, namely, Viterbo, Orvieta, and Peruſa. He promiſes him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda; and he cedes to him the territorial ſuperiority, that is, the ſupremacy and dependance of Naples and Sicily,

1210.

No greater harmony could poſſibly appear; but ſcarce is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for theſe very towns.

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himſelf maſter of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederick, king of the Romans, who was ſtripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211.

Innocent III. can do no leſs than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a meer trifle againſt an eſtabliſhed prince; but a very ſerious affair againſt a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Auſtria, and the landgrave of Thuringia, reſolve to dethrone him. The archbiſhop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederick II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of loſing Germany for having attempted to ſeize Apulia, repaſſes the Alps.

1212.

The emperor Otho aſſembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederick paſſes the Alps after him, and makes himſelf maſter of Alſace, the noblemen of which declare in his favour. He engages Ferri duke of Lorrain in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the ſcene of civil war.

1213.

Frederick II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the archbiſhop of Mentz.

Mean while, Otho ſupports himſelf, and regains almoſt every thing, when he ſeems to be on the eve of loſing the whole.

He was ſtill protected by England; while his competitor Frederick II. enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying

rying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland *, though he was deſtined to be ſo, and became like Otho moſt unfortunate.

1214.

It ſeems very remarkable, that Otho, who a year before could ſcarce defend himſelf in Germany, ſhould now be able to make war upon Phil p Auguſtus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorrain, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been intereſted by the king of England. It is ſtill problematical, whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithſtanding that homage, conſidered as vaſſals of the empire.

Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above an hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, while Frederick II. concealed ſomewhere about Swiſſerland, waited the iſſue of this great enterprize. Philip Auguſtus was hard preſſed between the emperor and the king of England.

The BATTLE of BOVINES.

Between Lile and Tournay there is a ſmall village called Bovines, near which Otho IV. at

* Our author is here miſtaken in two circumſtances. John was called Lackland from his having no landed eſtate or patrimony, during the life of his elder brother. It was not he, but his brother Richard, who had ſo generouſly aſſiſted Otho; as for John, he refuſed to pay the legacy which his brother left to that prince, alledging, that he had reſtricted himſelf by oath from aſſiſting Otho, either with money, jewels, land, or men.

the

the head of an army ſaid to be an hundred and twenty thouſand ſtrong, attacked the king, who had ſcarce half the number. At that time they began to uſe croſs-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in uſe under Lewis the Groſs. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, conſiſting of all the lords of the fiefs, and their ſquires. The knights wore a cuiraſs, buſkins, knee-pieces, braſſets, cuiſſes, and an helmet. All this armour was made of iron, and above the cuiraſs they had a ſhirt of mail called *Haubert*, from the word *Albus*. This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of ſtuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. Theſe bearings, which began to be in uſe, were called coats of arms, becauſe they were figured on the knight's arms, to diſtinguiſh him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberts or haubergeon. Their helmet was not faced and cloſed, conſequently not ſo good a defence. They had no braſſets nor cuiſſes; thus armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horſe, and could better raiſe up in battle, thoſe heavy maſſes of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Beſides, the complete armour of knights was a prerogative of honour, to which the ſquires had no pretenſion; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear, was being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in his cuiraſs, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was

taken

taken off; or laſtly in the armpits, when he raiſed his arms. There was likewiſe troops of cavalry draughted from the common ſoldiery, not ſo well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defenſive armour he pleaſed to wear, and his offenſive arms were the ſword, the arrow, the club, and ſling.

It was a biſhop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Auguſtus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the ſee of Senlis. There was alſo at that battle a biſhop of Beauvais, who had been long kept priſoner by Richard king of England; he uſed a club or mace, ſaying, he ſhould be irregular if he ſhed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king diſpoſed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to ſing the pſalm, *Exurgat Deus, & diſſipentur inimici ejus*, as if Otho had been fighting againſt God. Formerly the French ſung verſes in honour of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial ſtandard of Otho, fixed in a waggon with four wheels, according to the cuſtom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole ſupporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal ſtandard of France was a gilded ſtaff, with an enſign of white ſilk, powdered with golden flowers de lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be aſſumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The ancient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are ſurmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head

of

of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron: this is likewiſe the figure of ſeveral ſceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Beſides the royal ſtandard, Philip Auguſtus brought into the field the oriflame of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red ſilk flag. When the king was in danger, they raiſed or lowered one or other of theſe ſtandards. Every knight had likewiſe his own, called a Pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another enſign called a Banner. This term Banner, which is ſo honourable, was nevertheleſs common to the enſigns of the infantry, which was almoſt wholly compoſed of Serfs, or people lately made free.

The cry of war commonly uſed by the French was *Mon Joïe St. Denis:* they ſaid indifferently *Mon Joïe*, or *Ma Joïe*, in the barbarous jargon of France. The German cry was ſtill, *Kyrie-eleyſon.*

The Teutonic army, though very ſtrong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we muſt attribute the victory in this great battle. Thoſe ſquadrons of horſe capariſoned with ſteel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in diſorder the German ſoldiery almoſt naked and diſarmed, in compariſon of thoſe moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other riſk than that of being diſmounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that king Philip Auguſtus thrown from

from his horſe was for a long time ſurrounded by enemies, and received ſtrokes from all kinds of arms, without loſing a drop of blood *. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German ſoldier attempted to thruſt a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William *de long Champs*, who unluckily died of a thruſt in the eye, which he received thro' the viſor of his helmet.

They reckon on the ſide of the Germans five and twenty knights bannerets, and ſeven counts of the empire priſoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horſe, and eſpecially the infantry of ſlaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho loſt the battle. Thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The cuſtom then was to load the priſoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with ſhackles on their arms and legs. This was a ſettled, though barbarous cuſtom. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, ſaid himſelf, that when he was arreſted in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could poſſibly carry.

With regard to the conſequences, we do not find that the king of France made any conqueſt

* Heiſs ſays, the king of France was wounded in the throat.——It is diverting enough to ſee M. de Voltaire, who exclaims againſt the deſcription of battles, thus diſplaying the glory of France.

on the ſide of Germany after his victory at Bovines: but he by this ſucceſs acquired much more authority over his vaſſals.

Philip Auguſtus ſends to Frederick in Swiſſerland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German Eagle; this was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.